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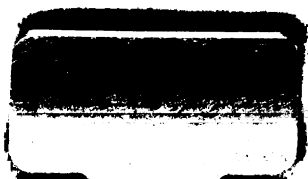
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DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN

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THE
ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES
ON
THE CROWN

TRANSLATED BY THE
RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT COLLIER

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
15, ABchurch Lane, E.C. 4

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PREFACE.

IN ORDER to make the Speech which I have endeavoured to translate intelligible to those who are not familiar with Greek history of the period to which it belongs, some reference is necessary to the time and occasion of its delivery, and to the substance of the speech to which it was an answer. The time of its delivery was the year 330 B.C., eight years after the battle of Chæroneia, fatal to the liberties of Greece; six years after the death of Philip; while Alexander was pursuing his conquests in the far East; and just after the revolt of Agis, King of Sparta, had been put down by Antipater. The Athenians, though they had lost their freedom, had not yet reconciled themselves to its loss, or abandoned hopes of its recovery; crushed as they were by the Macedonian power, and by a series of misfortunes, they still retained the sentiments of Imperial Athens, and were capable of being profoundly moved by reminiscences of the glory of their ancestors.

The occasion of its delivery was a criminal State trial before an Athenian Jury. Our experience of

trial by Jury gives us little help in picturing to ourselves trial by Jury at Athens. Highly as we prize the institution, we should deem it intolerable without certain checks and safeguards, the principal of which are: that the Jury are restricted to deciding questions of fact, the presiding Judge declaring the law; that in civil cases the Courts set aside verdicts and direct new trials where justice manifestly requires it; and that in criminal cases the Crown has the power of pardon, or of commuting the sentence. There were no such checks or safeguards at Athens. The Jury determined the law as well as the facts, the presiding magistrate exercising little authority beyond that of keeping order; they not only pronounced the verdict, but passed the sentence, and there was no remedy for the grievous miscarriages of justice which sometimes occurred. Again, in State trials the number of the Jury panel was never less than 500, sometimes twice, or even thrice that number, the Jurors being chosen by lot, with no qualification beyond that of citizenship. A Jury was, in fact, a popular assembly, doubtless highly intelligent, probably more intelligent than any popular assembly which has ever existed before or since to which mere citizenship was an admission, versed in the artifices of rhetoric from the habit of hearing speakers who have never been surpassed, perhaps proof against common clap-trap, but open to many influences by which all popular assemblies are more or less affected. There was much canvassing of

Jurors, many of whom came to trials as avowed partisans ; their prejudices and passions were appealed to with a licence far exceeding that of modern advocacy ; yet there is reason to believe that in most trials a large number of the Jurors honestly desired to decide impartially, and that most of the verdicts were right. That causes were not always prejudged, and that the voting could not be calculated upon beforehand with any approach to certainty would appear from the result of this trial, where Æschines, doubtless expecting a majority of the votes, failed to obtain a fifth of them, the bulk of the Jurors being influenced, and justly, by the speech of Demosthenes.

The trial was founded on a procedure called the *Graphé Paranomôn*, which has no parallel in modern institutions. It was an indictment for proposing a law or a decree at variance with existing laws. A *psêphisma*, commonly translated *decree*, but having a wider signification than is usually attached to that word, comprising what we should call private bills, and measures of limited application or importance, could be passed by the Senate and the Public Assembly. A *nomos*, or law of general application, required the farther sanction of the *Nomothetæ*, to whom the people delegated the legislative power in matters of importance.¹

¹ The distinction between *ψήφισμα* and *νόμος* does not appear to have been clearly defined or carefully observed, at least in later times. The Assembly by choosing to call any measure which came before it a *Psephism* could give themselves jurisdiction to pass it ; and they seem at times to

According to modern notions the responsibility of the proposer of a measure is merged in that of the legislative body which adopts it. It was not so at Athens. Although a 'decree' had been passed by both the Senate and the Assembly, and a 'law' had received the farther sanction of the *Nomothetæ*, the responsibility of the proposer of the decree or of the law remained. It was competent to any citizen to bring him to trial within a year, under the *Graphê Paranomôn*, before a Jury who could both punish him and repeal the enactment. The main objects of the *Graphê Paranomôn* seem to have been: first to prevent a conflict of laws, which the Athenians held to be so great an evil that, in order to guard against it, they held annually an assembly for the express purpose of enquiring whether any laws were in conflict, and if so, of reconciling them. If any citizen desired to change the law he was bound to obtain the repeal of the old law before proposing the new, under pain of a prosecution. Secondly, to check the introduction of rash and ill-considered measures. These objects were farther secured by a power given to any citizen to stop the progress of a measure by binding himself on oath to prosecute the mover of it. The unlimited power of obstruction

have enacted laws properly so called without their being submitted to the *Nomothetæ*. Demosthenes complains, ψηφισμάτων οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν διαφέρουσιν οἱ νόμοι· ἀλλὰ νεώτεροι οἱ νόμοι, καθ' οὓς τὰ ψηφίσματα δεῖ γράφεσθαι, τῶν ψηφισμάτων αὐτῶν ὑμῖν εἰσί. *Adv. Leptin.* p. 485. See the learned treatise of Schömann 'de comitiis Atheniensibus,' and Smith's 'Dictionary of Classical Antiquities,' titles, *nomos*, and *Graphê Paranomôn*.

apparently given by this latter provision would seem to have been somewhat modified by the practice of hooting down any person who, in the opinion of the Assembly, used it vexatiously.¹

It was probably the intention of Solon, if he was, as is sometimes asserted, the author of the *Graphê Paranomôn*,² to confine its operation to the purpose which its name imports, viz., to prosecutions on the ground that the measure complained of conflicted with existing laws. It appears, however, that by an abuse of the procedure—for it cannot but be so regarded—the prosecution might also rely on the ground that the measure was opposed to the public interest.

This institution is defended by Mr. Grote, who shows as much partiality to Athenian institutions as is consistent with the highly judicial character of his mind, on the ground that the Athenian Democracy was impulsive, liable to be led into hasty and rash legislation by its orators, and that the *Graphê Paranomôn* furnished a conservative element to the constitution, by impressing statesmen with a strong sense of responsibility for the measures they proposed. Whether this is in effect an argument in favour of the *Graphê Paranomôn*, or against the Athenian Democracy, may admit of question; conceding, how-

¹ See Xenoph. Hellen. i. 7, 12, 13.

² Mr. Grote thinks that it probably originated with Pericles. He observes that the orators had a habit of ascribing most old laws to Solon, and that they were sometimes manifestly wrong in this. In truth an allusion to Solon was always popular and ensured a cheer. It had something the same effect as a reference to Magna Charta with us.

ever, to the *Graphê Paranomôn* some uses, it was manifestly open to great abuse, and Mr. Grote admits that it was greatly abused.

If the sole question had been conflict or no conflict with existing laws, few proposers of measures would have been safe, for most new laws, though they may not in terms conflict with old ones, may, by a little ingenuity, be represented as at variance with their spirit or intention. But when it became open to the prosecutor to argue that the new law was a bad one, it seems inevitable that all who undertook the work of legislation at Athens should be exposed to frequent and vexatious prosecutions. In fact, few escaped—while we hear of some who underwent sixty or seventy prosecutions. In truth the *Graphê Paranomôn* was an engine of warfare wielded against each other by political parties who, as they became ascendant in turn, indicted, almost as a matter of course, their principal opponents. A measure carried by acclamation in one state of public feeling was the subject of indictment in another. In the course of the war with Philip, Apollodorus carried an unanimous vote through the Senate and the Assembly for applying the theôric¹ fund to the purposes of the war: on some success being gained, the Athenians repented of this act of self-denial, whereupon Apollodorus

¹ The fund for the support of theatrical performances, out of which in later times each citizen was entitled to a payment of two oboli daily for three successive days during all the great feasts.

was put upon his trial and heavily fined. Some years after the very same measure was again carried by Demosthenes, who, if Athenian affairs had again improved, might have been subjected to the same punishment. When we add the time wasted in these useless and factious trials (sufficiently popular with the poorer citizens who derived from them some pay and much importance), to that wasted in games and religious festivals, we have, perhaps, some explanation of the ill-success with which in latter times the Athenians conducted their affairs.

The circumstances out of which the indictment in the present case arose were these: After the battle of Chæroneia, Demosthenes, notwithstanding that he had deserted his post, in common probably with many thousands of his fellow-citizens, retained in a great degree the confidence of his countrymen, and was appointed to the offices of manager of the theoric fund and superintendent of fortifications, in the discharge of which he devoted a considerable sum out of his private means to public purposes.

Ctesiphon, a citizen of little mark, but probably put forward as the mouthpiece of a party, proposed a decree or vote in the Senate that a golden crown—a not uncommon form of testimonial—should be presented to Demosthenes in the theatre, on the occasion of the Dionysian festival, in recognition of his public services. This vote passed the Senate and became a *Probouleuma*, or inchoate decree, not taking effect till ratified by the Assembly of the

People. Thereupon Æschines, the leader of what may be called the Macedonian party, whose eloquence, aided by a fine voice, a handsome person, and a thorough knowledge of theatrical effect derived from his quondam profession of an actor, obtained for him the second place among Athenian orators, preferred an indictment against Ctesiphon under the *Graphê Paranomôn*, which seems to have had the effect of stopping the farther progress of the decree.

The grounds of the indictment were—

1. That the decree contravened a law which prohibited persons holding certain offices being crowned until they had rendered the accounts of those offices before the public auditors, inasmuch as Demosthenes held such an office and had not rendered his accounts.

2. That the law forbade a crown being bestowed in the theatre, or in any other place than the Senate or the Popular Assembly.

3. That the public services of Demosthenes did not entitle him to a crown.

The first two objections on the ground of illegality are intelligible enough, but the third was a pure question of fact on which every citizen had a right to form his judgment; and it is difficult to see how the expression of an opinion on it by a Senator in the Senate, even in the form of a vote or a decree, could be contrary to the law on any fair construction of it. The straining of the *Graphê Paranomôn* to such an extent that in a criminal trial the guilt or innocence of the accused came to depend on whether

the Jury agreed or differed with him in his estimate of a public man, illustrates the loose notions of law which may be expected to prevail when the law is administered by popular assemblies. But the last was the real issue. Demosthenes was the real defendant, and his whole administration was put upon its trial. He justly expatiates on the unfairness and hardship of attacking him by means of a criminal charge against another man, and that such a course should have been possible is a reproach to the law of Athens.

For eight years Æschines had not the courage to bring on the trial, wherein, if he failed to obtain one-fifth of the votes, he would incur a heavy fine, together with the loss of some civil privileges—the only real check to such prosecutions; nor would it appear that the friends of Demosthenes thought it prudent to force on the trial as they probably might have done. At length the suppression of the revolt of Agis, which greatly inspired the Macedonian party throughout Greece, appeared to Æschines his opportunity, and he summoned resolution for the assault upon his formidable adversary. This celebrated trial excited intense interest throughout Greece; we have it from Cicero: ‘*Ad quod judicium concursus dicitur a totâ Græciâ factus esse. Quid enim aut tam visendum, aut audiendum fuit, quam summorum oratorum in gravissimâ causâ accurata et inimicitiiis accensa contentio?*’

Æschines places in the front his points of law on which he knows himself to be strongest. Reminding

the Athenians that of the three forms of government—Monarchy, Oligarchy, and Democracy—the two former are independent of law, the last based on law alone, he impresses on them the strict observance of their laws as essential to the maintenance of their democratic government. On the *first point* he causes to be read the law forbidding the crowning of persons holding accountable offices before they have rendered their accounts, and shows that at the date of the decree Demosthenes had not rendered the accounts of his offices. He had, indeed, rendered his accounts, and they had been duly passed in the usual course on the expiration of his offices, many years before the trial, so that no question of malversation arose, but the technical point remained that the decree was unlawful because he had not accounted at its date. The only remaining question was whether either of the offices held by Demosthenes was an accountable one within the meaning of the law. Anticipating arguments which he expected to be advanced against him,—for the trial had probably been long the common talk of Athens,—Æschines contends that the office of Superintendent of Fortifications is within the statute, and establishes this so conclusively that Demosthenes does not attempt to gainsay it. He next adverts to another defence which he supposes likely to be raised, viz., that Demosthenes was exempted from the rule of accountability because he had contributed to the expenses of his office from his private funds. He insists that no such exemption is to be

found in the law, and that to establish it would be of most mischievous example. Can it be seriously contended, he asks, that because a man entrusted with public money has added to it some of his own, or asserts that he has, he can thereby oust the jurisdiction of the public auditors to enquire into his accounts? They must hold an audit, if only to ascertain whether his assertion be true or false, the amount of the advance, if any, and what has become of the public money; and he instances the case of Trierarchs who furnished ships wholly at their own expense, but who were nevertheless admittedly accountable.

On the *second point* he adduces a law directing that crowns conferred by the Senate and the People should be conferred in the Senate or in the Popular Assembly, and nowhere else. He then refers to another law, which may be quoted against him, to the effect that in certain cases crowns may be conferred in the theatre, 'if the people so vote it.' He argues that this law applies only to a different class of crowns, viz., those conferred by foreign States on their 'Proxeni,' at Athens, or on any Athenian citizens who may have rendered them service; that such crowns may be fittingly conferred in the theatre, amidst the concourse of foreigners resorting to the Dionysian festival, who would have nothing to do with crowns conferred by Athens on her own citizens; that the two classes of crowns are differently treated, the former being dedicated to Athênê, the latter given to the recipients and pre-

served by them as heirlooms in their families. He farther contends that his construction of the two laws reconciles them with each other, whereas the opposite construction treats them as in conflict, a thing highly improbable, inasmuch as the Thesmothetæ annually bring before an Assembly convened for the purpose of revising the laws any which may seem to be in conflict, with a view to their being reconciled.

Having finished a clear and able legal argument, Æschines comes to what may be called the merits of the case ; but before he concludes reverts to the legal points, endeavouring to prevail upon the Jury to hear only Ctesiphon, the nominal defendant ; but if they do hear Demosthenes, to insist on his addressing himself, in the first instance, to the questions of law.

This course by no means suits Demosthenes, who begins by vehemently protesting against the hardship and injustice of permitting his opponent to prescribe the order of his speech, insisting that the oath of the Jurors constrains them to permit each speaker to arrange his discourse in his own order. Having carried this point, he launches into the whole case, and it is not until he believes that he has favourably impressed the Jury that he ventures on the points of law. His answer on the *first point* is merely that he has expended his own money, and without directly stating that he has contributed the whole fund (which would have been contrary to the fact) he assumes it,

and declaims on the ungraciousness and hardship of subjecting gifts freely bestowed to account and scrutiny. He gives instances of many persons who have been crowned in respect of gifts, but without distinctly making out that at the time of crowning they were under a liability to account. Without this the precedents would be worthless. Even if it be assumed, they prove no more than that the law had been violated before. On the *second point* he affects not to understand the argument of *Æschines*, which was sufficiently clear, declares that crowns have been constantly bestowed in the theatre, calls with great solemnity on the officer of the court to read the words of the statute authorising a crown to be bestowed in the theatre, 'if the people *so* vote it;' fixes on the words on which he relies, and, without noticing the explanation of them given by *Æschines*, breaks into invective. This mode of dealing with the points of law appears to have been successful with an audience who, if they were with the defendant on the merits, probably wanted no more than an excuse for deciding the technicalities in his favour.

If the notions of an English lawyer could be applicable to an Athenian trial, he would probably express himself somewhat to this effect. The Judge should have directed the Jury that the prosecution had made out their case on the first point, viz., that the decree was illegal, inasmuch as it proposed to crown an accountable officer before he had accounted.

Perhaps he should also have directed them that the decree was illegal on the second ground, but it would not have been absolutely necessary to determine this point. He should farther have told them that the proper place for discussing the merits or demerits of the administration of Demosthenes was the Senate when the decree was there proposed, or the Popular Assembly, if it had come before them, but that by no fair construction of the law could Ctesiphon be held criminally responsible for expressing his opinion on such a question. He should have directed a verdict of guilty, and inflicted a nominal fine.

It remains to notice the case of *Æschines* on what may be called the merits.

The coarse vituperation, permitted by the manners of the time, with which he assails the private character of Demosthenes, and even his birth and parentage, need only be glanced at as affording some justification or excuse for the bitter retorts which, in the eyes of modern readers, disfigure the speech of Demosthenes. We are painfully impressed by the violent personal animosity evinced by these great orators against each other, and the ungenerous denial by each of any merit to his rival; on behalf of Demosthenes, however, it may be urged that he had been goaded to fury by constant attacks from the party of *Æschines*, and that he felt towards them honest and (there is reason to believe) just indignation as traitors to their Country. *Æschines* accuses

Demosthenes, among other things, of having received bribes from Philip, from Alexander, from several of the Grecian States, and from the King of Persia, and observes, 'when he has received a bribe he is quiet for a time, when he has spent it he begins to bellow.' General accusations of bribery, commonly bandied about among orators of the period, deserve little notice. In one case, however, Æschines condescends to particulars, quoting the actual decree by which the citizens of Oreum voted a talent to Demosthenes. Though we should have been glad to hear the answer of Demosthenes to this charge, it must not be assumed from his silence that he had none; for, in trials at Athens, the speakers were limited to time (one advantage, perhaps, of their procedure over ours), and Demosthenes may not have had time to spare for accusations by which he did not feel himself pressed. The publicity of the vote negatives concealment in the transaction, and the payment may have been for services of which he had no reason to be ashamed. That he received a large sum of money from the King of Persia is well known, but it was entrusted to him for the purpose of organising a Grecian league against Philip on his preparing to invade Persia, and there is no proof of any part of it having been misappropriated.

Æschines assailed the public life of Demosthenes from high vantage-ground. He was able to rest his case on the unquestionable fact that at the commencement of what may be termed the administra-

tion of Demosthenes—for he mainly directed the foreign policy of Athens during her struggle with Philip—Athens was autonomous and powerful, aspiring to the leadership of Greece, and retaining a considerable portion of her once great maritime empire; that, at the close of it, she was stripped of all her foreign possessions, and reduced to be a dependency on Macedon. What do you think, Æschines was able to ask with triumphant iteration, of the policy which has led to such a result? You have before you the man who has brought ruin upon you: will you punish him, or reward him with a crown?

The gist of the accusation against Demosthenes is his anti-Macedonian policy; yet, strange to say, Æschines includes charges of an opposite character, such as undue eagerness and haste in concluding peace with Philip, and the neglect to take advantage of three occasions on which Alexander might have been successfully assailed. The object of making these latter charges, to a certain extent contradictory of the former, and establishing what would be merits in the eyes of his own party, may perhaps be explained on the hypothesis that he felt sure, come what might, of the Macedonian vote, and hoped to detach some votes from the anti-Macedonian party by showing that Demosthenes had been false to it—a manœuvre for bringing sections of opposite parties into the same lobby not altogether unknown in modern times. He divides the administration of Demosthenes into four periods, and, in anticipation of an enquiry from

Demosthenes, 'Which of them do you attack?' answers that he attacks them all. He begins by the disastrous and humiliating peace with Philip, in the year B.C. 346. It obviously did not suit his purpose to go farther back to the time when Demosthenes exhausted his eloquence in vainly warning his countrymen against the danger with which they were threatened by Philip's growing power, and in exhorting them to 'crush him in the shell.' He accuses Demosthenes of having been a principal adviser, together with Philocrates, of that peace, and of having caused it to be made by Athens alone instead of by a general congress of the Greeks, who would have been bound to assist Athens in the event of its rupture. He imputes to him servility to Philip and obsequious attention to Philip's ambassadors. He next accuses him of intrigues in Eubœa and elsewhere to the detriment of the State and his own private advantage—an accusation unnoticed by Demosthenes—and of subsequently instigating a breach of the peace and a second war. He then refers to what is commonly known as the third Sacred War, which, according to his own showing, he was himself mainly instrumental in bringing about, making it the subject of a violent attack upon Demosthenes, not, it would seem, without a well-grounded apprehension of the retort. The version of the case given by Æschines is as follows—that being sent from Athens as one of her lay deputies (Pylagoræ, as distinguished from Hieromnemons, the priestly de-

puties) to the Amphictyonic Council, then assembled at Delphi, he heard with much indignation a rude attack upon his Country made by a deputy from the Amphissian Locrians, who had instituted a suit against Athens for impiety in the matter of the dedication of certain shields ; thereupon, rising in wrath, he retorted the charge of impiety upon the Locrians, accusing them of having inhabited and cultivated part of the Cirrhæan plain sacred to Apollo. The situation of the chamber, overlooking the plain, enabled him to appeal to the eyes as well as to the ears of his audience. He points to the Locrian houses and public buildings reared on consecrated ground, to their teams ploughing up the sacred plain ; reads to the Assembly the tremendous oath by which their ancestors had dedicated it for ever to the God , and by an impassioned harangue so works upon the excited priests (described by Demosthenes as ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων—who had probably never heard a first-rate Attic orator) as to induce them to vote an instant raid upon the Amphissian Locrians. The raid, at first successful, was repulsed. War ensued ; and, the Locrians proving stubborn, Philip was invited to head the crusade against them. It was undeniable that Philip used this position, as might have been expected, to further his designs on Greece. On entering Grecian territory his first step was to seize on Elateia, establish himself in it and fortify it, as a menace both to Athens and to Thebes. The consternation occasioned by this event is vividly

depicted by Demosthenes in one of the most striking passages of his speech. The situation resulted in an alliance between Athens and Thebes, deemed impossible by Philip in the then hostile relations between them, whereby his schemes were much disconcerted, and the combined forces of the Athenians and the Thebans were brought to bear against him in the battle of Chæroneia, where the Greeks fought for the last time with a fair chance for their independence. Æschines argues that Athens might have taken the lead in this sacred war, and have reaped all the profit and glory which accrued to Philip, and that she would have done so had she not been deterred from it by Demosthenes, who sympathised with the impiety of the Locrians and was bribed by their gold. He therefore charges on Demosthenes the defeat and humiliation of Athens which ensued, together with the ruin of Thebes, finally consummated some years after by Alexander. He then passes to the battle of Chæroneia, accusing Demosthenes of insisting on the marching of the troops in spite of unfavourable omens, of rejecting propositions of peace, and of hurrying his countrymen to that fatal battle from which he himself fled.

‘Bethink you, Athenians,’ he exclaims, ‘of those gallant men, whom, in defiance of every inauspicious omen, he sent forth to a not uncertain fate; whose monument, after they had fallen, he yet dared to mount with those runaway feet which

had borne him from his post in battle, in order to pronounce a panegyric on their valour! Will you venture—you most useless of men for prompt and serious action, most amazing in the bravery of your words—will you venture to look these your Jurors in the face, and to maintain that you are to be crowned for the calamities of your Country? Should he maintain it, will you endure to hear him? Is it come to this—that your remembrance of the dead is buried with them in their grave?

‘Follow me for a moment in your imagination, and suppose yourselves in the theatre instead of in the judgment hall; picture to yourselves the herald coming forward to trumpet forth the proclamation in this decree; will the more tears be shed, think you, by the relatives and friends of the devoted dead, for the sufferings of the tragic heroes, or for the infatuation of their Country? * * *

* By all the powers of Heaven I implore you erect not in the Theatre of Dionysus a trophy against yourselves; expose not to all Greece the unreason of the Athenian people; remind not of their hopeless and incurable calamities those unhappy Thebans, whom he has driven into exile, and you have sheltered, whose temples, whose children, whose sepulchres, the corruption of Demosthenes and the King’s gold have destroyed! Though not bodily present at their sufferings, picture them to your imagination. Behold in your mind’s eye their city stormed, their walls razed to

the ground, their houses in flames, their wives and their children dragged off into slavery, grey-haired men and aged matrons unlearning in their latter days the lessons of freedom ;—picture to yourselves these unhappy creatures in their grief, and in their rage against the author of their calamities rather than the hands which inflicted them, emphatically enjoining you with tears and lamentations to forbear from bestowing a crown upon the scourge of Greece, and warning you against the curse which has ever followed in the track of the man's evil genius. ~~Never was there a State, never an individual who prospered with Demosthenes for his counsellor.~~

He denies the title of Demosthenes to statesmanship, drawing an imaginary picture of a perfect Athenian statesman, and contrasting it with a clever caricature of his rival, whom he describes as pompous, empty, mendacious, made only of words. Ridiculing and probably mimicking his habit of swearing by Athênê, he exclaims, 'Why, he seems to think that Phidias wrought her statue for his sole benefit, to enable him to carry on his trade of forswearing himself by it ;' and among other anecdotes to his disadvantage tells how Demosthenes, having received private intelligence overnight of Philip's assassination, announced the next morning in the Assembly that it had been revealed to him in a vision by Zeus and Athênê, 'pretending,' says *Æschines*, 'to hold communion by night with those

Deities whom he is in the habit of calling as witnesses to his falsehoods by day.'

He reminds the Athenians that such honours as those proposed by Ctesiphon were not bestowed on their great men of old, whom he places in invidious contrast with Demosthenes, and denounces the bad habit in recent times of bestowing crowns on undeserving persons. After some defence of himself from anticipated attacks, he concludes with a peroration (ridiculed by Demosthenes) somewhat in these terms: 'Be ye my witnesses, O Earth, and Sun, and Virtue, and Intelligence, and thou, Education, by whose aid we distinguish the noble from the base. My public duty is performed! My speech is ended! If I have maintained my accusation well, and adequately to its importance, I have spoken as I wished; if inadequately, as I best could. It is for you, the Jury, on consideration not only of what has been addressed to you, but of what may have been left unsaid, to pronounce the verdict which justice and the public interest demand.'

On *Æschines* sitting down Ctesiphon probably spoke shortly, and then was delivered the speech which I have translated—to borrow a phrase of *Æschines*—not as I wished but as I best could. It will be seen how complete is the defence to most of the charges, and how crushing the retorts. It may be that on the subject of the Sacred War and on some others Demosthenes is as unfair to *Æschines* as *Æschines* had been to him. It should be remem-

bered that the best defence of his public life, viz., that if the Athenians had taken his advice in time they would have been saved, though it has availed him with posterity, was scarcely open to him then. It would obviously not have been prudent to remind the Athenians of the language in which he had addressed them in his first great speech in the Public Assembly—often in substance repeated—‘you need not despair of your affairs, Athenians, evil as their condition may seem, for their worst aspect, as far as concerns the past, is just that which gives best promise of the future. And what is it? That your affairs have gone wrong while you have been neglecting everything which you ought to have done; whereas, had they come to this pass in spite of your utmost care and diligence, there would have been no hope of their improving.’ To remind vain and irritable Jurors that they were suffering the very consequences he had predicted from their folly and their neglect of his warnings was not the way to a favourable verdict. His chance of success lay in confining himself to the period when they did, though tardily, adopt his policy, in identifying himself with them, and convincing them that their conduct was honourable, prudent, and deserving of success, though robbed of it by misfortunes which no human foresight could have averted.

To lead them with him to this point was no small achievement; but to raise them to a still higher level, to inspire them with the sentiment that

even if all the disaster and ruin to ensue on their contest with Philip could have been foreseen, nevertheless they were bound to undertake it on behalf, not of themselves only, but of the other Grecian States from which they had often suffered cruel wrong, because such a course was noble and glorious and worthy of their forefathers, was one of the greatest triumphs ever achieved by an orator. A triumph somewhat similar was indeed obtained by Pericles in the early part of the Peloponnesian War, when the tide of popular feeling ran against him as the author of all that the Athenians then suffered from the ravaging of their territory, and from the pestilence consequent on their crowding into the walls of Athens; but it should be remembered that Pericles addressed Athenians in their prime, that Demosthenes addressed Athenians to some extent degenerate.

✓ The speech of Æschines, of which the barest outline has been sketched, has very high merit: it is well-reasoned, ingenious, brilliant in declamation, powerful in invective, epigrammatic, sarcastic, witty: an effort altogether worthy of an accomplished Attic orator. Yet it scarcely sustains comparison with the severe simplicity and strength of Demosthenes, with that highest art which has not the appearance of art, but of Nature herself; it fails to convey the same irresistible impression that the man is not merely speech-making, but expressing his real opinions and feelings; nor does it rise to that lofty strain of Panhellenic patriotism well described by Grote as the

highest excellence of Demosthenes, probably for the best of reasons, that Æschines did not entertain the sentiment.

The effect of the speech of Demosthenes (which derives additional interest from its having been the last very great speech ever delivered at Athens) was commensurate with its merit. Æschines failed to obtain one-fifth of the votes, and retired from Athens, never to return. Demosthenes was crowned in the theatre.

THE ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN.

IN the first place, Athenians, I implore all the Heavenly Powers, that in this trial I may experience from you as much goodwill as I have always entertained towards the State, and towards you all. In the next—and this above all things concerns yourselves, your religion, and your honour—that the Gods may dispose your minds not to take counsel from my adversary as to the course to be pursued in hearing me; this would indeed be hard: but from the laws, and from your oath wherein, among other just precepts, this is enjoined, to hear both sides impartially. And true impartiality consists, not merely in prejudging nothing, not even in extending the same favour to both, but in permitting each antagonist to adopt whatever method or arrangement of his discourse he may have selected and proposed to himself.

In this contest with Æschines, I labour under many disadvantages, of which the two most serious are these, Athenians. The one is, that the objects for which we contend are not of equal consequence. It is not of the same consequence to him to fail in his cause, as it is to me to forfeit your favour. To me, indeed—yet I would fain say nothing of ill-omen at the commencement of my speech; but as for him, he risks nothing which he cannot afford to lose by his wanton accusation. The other is the natural disposition of mankind to listen to invective and accusation with pleasure, to self-praise with impatience; the popular part, therefore, falls to him, while that in universal disfavour, so to speak, remains for me. If, in my anxiety to escape from this, I were to abstain from all mention of my public conduct, I should appear to be without the means of meeting his charges, or of proving my title to public honours. If, on the other hand, I give a detailed narrative of my actions and public services, I shall be compelled to speak frequently of myself. Under these circumstances, I shall endeavour to make reference to myself as sparingly as possible; and when the nature of the case drives me to it, the blame ought in fairness to rest upon the man who has instituted such a prosecution.

I apprehend that all of you, the Jurors, will agree that Ctesiphon and I have a common interest in this trial, and that it calls for no less anxiety on my part than on his; for if it is distressing to be robbed of anything, especially by the hand of an enemy, it is most distressing to be robbed of your favour and affection, in as much as these are the most precious of all acquisitions.

Such, then, being the issues in this trial, I require, I beseech you all alike, to hear my defence against the charges, fairly, as the laws enjoin; laws, which Solon, their author, a friend to you and to popular rights, thought it necessary to secure not only by engraving them on tablets, but by your oaths when you administer justice; not, as I believe, that he distrusted you, but because he foresaw that the accused would be unable to meet the charges and invectives of the prosecutor, who has the advantage of being the first to speak, unless each of you, the Jurors, should feel himself bound by a solemn religious obligation to hear with favour what can be urged on behalf of the party addressing him last; and to listen fairly and impartially to both before he decides on the collective merits of the case.

As I am, it appears, to render an account to-day both of the whole of my private life, and of my public conduct, I desire once more to invoke the Gods; and in your presence I here implore them, in the first place, that whatever measure of good will I have ever entertained to the State, and to you all, the same may be meted to me upon this trial; and next, that you may be guided to such a determination of this cause as may consist with our Country's glory, and with the sacred duty of every Juror.

Had Æschines confined his accusations to the subject-matter of the prosecution, I would have followed his method, and would, in my defence, have at once dealt with the decree;¹ but as he has devoted quite as much of his speech to a lengthened discussion of irrelevant topics, and as most of what he said of me is false, I think it both necessary and just, Athenians, to say a few words, in the first instance, on those topics, that none of you may be predisposed by extraneous matter to hear me less favourably on the merits of the cause.

As to the foul slander with which he has assailed my private character, mark, how plainly and simply I dispose of it. If you know me to be such a man as

¹ *I.e.* the '*probouleuma*,' which might perhaps be translated 'bill' of the Senate, procured by Ctesiphon for the crowning of Demosthenes.

he has described me (and I have lived nowhere but among you), give me not as much as a hearing, however transcendent my public services,—rise in your places at this instant and vote my condemnation! But if, in your estimation and knowledge, I and mine stand far higher than he both in point of character and of birth, and not lower, if I may say it without offence, than average citizens, then believe him no more on other subjects than on this, for all his assertions are manifestly of the same stamp, but extend to me now the same favour which I have hitherto experienced in many former trials. You have shown, *Æschines*, abundant simplicity, little in accordance with your usual craft, in imagining that I should be diverted from the topic of my public conduct and services to the State, to notice your scandal. I shall do nothing of the sort: I am not so infatuated; but I shall immediately proceed to the examination of your misrepresentations and calumnies concerning my public conduct. To the ribald abuse which you have so lavishly bestowed upon me I shall refer hereafter, if it be the pleasure of the Jurors to hear me further on this subject.

The crimes imputed to me are many and grave, some of them visited by severe, nay, by the extreme penalties of the law. If the accusations he has made

against me were true, I am free to admit that the State could not punish me enough, or nearly enough ; but the moving spirit of this prosecution is the malice, the rancour, and the insolence of personal enmity. The prosecutor who desired justice would never attempt to rob the accused of his right to a hearing before the People—nay, to accompany this wrong with abuse and insult. By the Gods, Athenians ! such conduct is neither fair, nor honest, nor constitutional ! No ! he would have taken the occasions when he detected me committing crimes against the State, those appalling crimes of which his tragic denunciation yet rings in our ears, and brought me before you for trial by the process prescribed by law, by impeachment for treason if I had committed treason, by indictment for unlawful decrees if I had proposed unlawful decrees. It is incredible, when you see him prosecuting Ctesiphon now for the sake of a blow at me, that he would not have prosecuted me in person then if he had thought he could convict me. But further, if he had detected me injuring the State in any other of the modes which he has slanderously laid to my charge, or indeed in any mode whatever, there are laws applicable to all such offences, there are punishments, there are judgments, there are sentences,

followed by severe and heavy penalties. All these it was open to him to put in force against me, and if it appeared that he had done so, and proceeded with me in this manner, his accusations would have been consistent with his conduct. As it is, turning aside from the straight path of justice, and avoiding accusation on the occurrence of the events, he now, at this distance of time, collects and tricks out for stage effect all the scandals and slanders and abuse that can be raked up against me. Nor is this all ; while he treats me as the culprit, he brings Ctesiphon to trial ; and while the most prominent feature of the whole proceeding is his hostility to me, he never ventures to grapple with me on this ground, but is ostensibly endeavouring only to punish a third party by disfranchisement. In addition, surely, to all else that may be properly urged in behalf of Ctesiphon, Athenians, I think it may very fairly be said that Æschines and I ought in all justice to confine ourselves to the settlement of our own disputes, and not to turn aside from our quarrel in order to inflict all the injury we can upon another man ; why surely this is the extremity of injustice !

From all this it may be inferred that the whole of his accusations are equally devoid of justice and of truth ; I desire, however, to examine them one by

one, more especially those calumnies which have reference to the Peace and to the Embassy, wherein he transferred to me the acts done by himself in conjunction with Philocrates.

It is necessary, and at the same time convenient, Athenians, to remind you of the position of affairs at that period, that you may judge of each event with reference to the occasion of its occurrence.

When the Phocian war had been set on foot—not through my agency, for I had not then entered public life—the situation was this: you desired the preservation of the Phocians, although you did not approve of their conduct; and you contemplated with satisfaction any reverse which might befall the Thebans, against whom you were incensed not without reason and justice, for they had borne their good fortune at Leuctra with no moderation. Further, the whole of the Peloponnesus was in a distracted state, on the one hand the enemies of the Lacedæmonians not being strong enough to destroy them, while on the other, the rulers who formerly governed by Lacedæmonian influence were unable to maintain their authority in the Cities: and a condition of unsettled strife and confusion prevailed, as it did over all the rest of Greece. Philip observing this—it was sufficiently apparent—by distributing

bribes among the traitors of every State threw them all into confusion, and embroiled them with one another, and turning to his own advantage the blunders and indiscretions of his rivals, was attaining a power menacing to them all. As soon as the Thebans, once overbearing enough, now depressed, showed symptoms of exhaustion by the length of the war, so as to make it plain to all the world that they must be compelled to have recourse to you, then Philip, to anticipate this and to prevent the junction of the Grecian States, sent propositions, to you of peace, to them of assistance. *¶* And what was it that conspired with his designs and helped him to deceive you, I had almost said, with your eyes open? It was (shall I call it?) the cowardice or the ignorance, or both, of the other States of Greece, who gave you no assistance in men, in money, or of any other description, while you were maintaining an unbroken war of long duration,—and this for the common benefit, as the fact itself proclaimed; naturally and justly incensed at this you lent a ready ear to Philip. These, then, were the causes which brought about the Peace which was then agreed to: I was not the cause of it, as *Æschines* has calumniously represented; and if a fair investigation were made into the misconduct and corruption

of his party with respect to the treaty, that misconduct and corruption will be found the true cause of the present posture of our affairs. In instituting this scrutiny my only object is to arrive at the truth; for how heinous soever may be the guilt disclosed by these transactions, it concerns not me. The first who spoke and made a suggestion concerning peace was Aristodemus the player; and the man who took up the subject, put it in the form of a decree, and hired himself to Philip in this business, jointly with *Æschines*, was Philocrates, of the township of Agnus, your coadjutor, *Æschines*, not mine, though you lie till you split—and those who supported it, for whatever reasons—I do not now inquire into this—were Eubulus and Cephisophon, but I had nothing whatever to do with it. And these turning out upon investigation to be the undoubted facts, he has yet ventured to assert—such is the pitch of effrontery he has reached—that not only was I chargeable with the Peace, but that I prevented you making it in a general Congress of the Greeks. Why you—by what language is it possible to designate you as you deserve? When you saw me depriving the State of such an important opportunity, so invaluable an alliance as that on which you have been just now descanting, did you express your indignation on the

spot, did you then and there step forward and insist on the charges you now urge against me? If I did, under the influence of Philip's gold, prevent a union of the States of Greece, you had no right to be silent, it was your duty to cry aloud, to protest, to expose me before the people. But you never did anything of the kind, nor did any human being hear a word from you upon the subject. And your silence was discreet, for at that time not a single embassy had been sent to any one of the States, but their real sentiments had long been found out; in short, not a word of truth has he spoken on this subject. Apart from this, however, he calumniates the State most grossly by these inventions. For if, at one and the same time, you were calling upon the States of Greece to engage in war, and were sending Ambassadors to make peace on your own account with Philip, you were acting the part of an Eurybatus, a part unworthy of a free City and of honest men. But it is false—it is false. Why should you on that occasion have summoned the other States of Greece? For the sake of peace? why all were at peace; For war? but you yourselves were deliberating about peace.

It turns out, therefore, that I was not the author of, nor in any way responsible for the original

peace. Nor is there any foundation for any other of his calumnies.

But when the State had actually resolved on peace, observe again the course which each of us adopted, for thus you will discover who throughout co-operated with Philip, and who acted on your behalf and sought the Country's good.

I carried a decree in the Senate that the Ambassadors should sail with all despatch to the place where they might hear that Philip was, and obtain his ratification of the treaty. But notwithstanding my decree, they were not pleased to go. And what was the significance of this, Athenians? I will show you. It was for Philip's interest that the interval between your ratification of the treaty and his should be as long as possible, for yours that it should be as short as possible. Why? Because you had relaxed all your warlike preparations, not only from the time when you swore to the treaty of peace, but from the time when you hoped for peace. This is what he had all along been most anxiously scheming to bring about, on the speculation, which proved well founded, that whatever he could clutch from the State before he had sworn to the treaty, he should be able to hold in his grasp, for no one

would break the peace on this account. Foreseeing and expecting this, Athenians, I proposed this decree requiring the Ambassadors to sail for wherever Philip might be, and obtain his ratification with the utmost possible despatch, in order that the treaty might be concluded while the Thracians, your allies, were in possession of Serrium, Myrtum, and Ergisce (places which Æschines kept sneering at just now as unimportant), and before Philip had the opportunity, by seizing on posts of vantage, to make himself master of Thrace, and to obtain large supplies of men and of money for the prosecution of his ulterior designs. This decree Æschines neither reads nor notices, but calumniates me for having, as a Senator, expressed my opinion that the Ambassadors of Philip should be introduced to you. But what should I have done? Should I have moved that Ambassadors who had come for that purpose should not be introduced to confer with you? or that the manager should not assign them seats in the theatre? but without an express decree of exclusion they could have seen the performance for two obols. Was I to be the guardian of my Country in these trifles while I sold all her main interests to Philip as they have done? Surely not.

Read me, then, this decree, which, though well aware of, he passed over.

(THE DECREE.¹)

Such was the decree which I then proposed in the interest of this Country, not of Philip ; whereupon these worthy Ambassadors, taking small heed of its provisions, sat down in Macedonia three whole months, until Philip returned from Thrace after completing its subjugation : whereas they might in ten days, or rather in three or four, have reached the Hellespont and saved the fortresses by procuring his ratification of the treaty before he had reduced them. He would not have seized them in our presence, if he had, we should not have tendered the treaty for his ratification, and he would have failed to obtain peace ; at all events he would not have had both peace and the fortresses.

Such, in the history of this embassy, was the first fraud of Philip—the first corrupt act of these accursed miscreants : for this I avow that I did then, I do now, and will for ever wage against them unremitting strife and war.

But now let me call your attention to another

¹ Some of the decrees and other documents which have come down to us with this speech are clearly spurious, and none can be quite relied on. I have therefore omitted them.

crime immediately following, of a still deeper dye. When Philip had sworn to the peace, after he had been enabled to seize on Thrace by the disobedience of these Ambassadors to my decree, he again bribes them to prevent the Embassy leaving Macedon until the completion of all the preparations for his campaign against the Phocians. His fear was, that on their bringing hither the news of his designs and preparations for marching you might sally forth, and sailing round to Thermopylæ as you did before, might close the Straits ; whereas, he wished his entrance into the Straits and your intelligence of his design through your Ambassadors to be simultaneous, and yourselves, consequently, powerless. And in such an agony of apprehension was Philip lest, even after he had obtained this advantage, you should vote succours to the Phocians before he had destroyed them, and thus defeat his enterprise, that he further pays this wretch to make to you on his own behalf, and no longer in concert with the other Ambassadors, those statements and reports by means of which all was lost.¹

I entreat and conjure you, Athenians, to bear in mind, throughout the whole of this trial, that if Æschines in his accusation had not travelled beyond

¹ Probably at this point some of the Jury intimated that Demosthenes was not confining himself to the question.

the record, not a word of what is extraneous would have fallen from me ; but as he has resorted to every description of imputation and calumny, it is necessary for me to reply briefly to each of his charges. What, then, were the statements which he made at that time, and by which all has been lost? There was no cause for alarm, he said, at Philip having passed Thermopylæ, for, if we only kept quiet, everything would fall out according to our wishes ; that we should hear in two or three days that he had proved the friend of those against whom he had come as an enemy, the enemy of those he had come to befriend ; for, said Æschines, with great pomp and solemnity, alliances are not cemented by words, but by considerations of common interest, and it is for the common interest of Philip, and the Phocians, and yourselves, to be rid of the brutality and insolence of the Thebans. And some lent a ready ear to him on account of the hostile feeling which then underlay your relations with Thebes. What straightway followed with scarcely an interval? The Phocians were destroyed and their Cities razed to the ground, while you, who had remained passive under the persuasion of Æschines, soon had to decamp from the country and to take shelter within these walls ; and he received his gold. Nor is this

all, for these events drew down upon us the bitter hostility of the Thebans and Thessalians, while Philip's conduct was viewed with gratitude. To show that this is so, read me the decree of Callisthenes, and the letter of Philip, by both of which all this will be made clear to you.

(THE DECREE.)

Were these the expectations on which you made peace? Was this what that hireling promised you? Read the letter which Philip sent hither after these transactions.

(THE LETTER OF PHILIP.)

You hear how plainly, in this letter addressed to you, he intimates and explains to his own allies, 'All this have I done in despite of the Athenians and to their profound displeasure. If, then, you are wise, O Thebans and Thessalians, you will regard them as enemies, and put your trust in me.' Not, indeed, writing in these very words, but desiring to convey this meaning. By these means he so completely carried them away with him that they foresaw nothing that was impending—understood nothing—but passively resigned themselves to the complete dominion he was obtaining over them. Such was the origin of

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the calamities which the unhappy Thebans are now suffering. / But the accomplice and coadjutor of Philip in inspiring them with this blind faith—the man who brought to you false tidings and deceived you—this is the man who now descants with passionate grief upon the sufferings of the Thebans, himself the cause of those sufferings and of the calamities in Phocis, and of all the ills that have befallen the rest of Greece. You, Æschines, are forsooth the man to deplore what has happened, and to commiserate the Thebans, you who have possessions in Bœotia and farm the lands which should be theirs, while I rejoice over their sufferings, I who was demanded for instant extradition by the author of them !

But I have fallen into observations which may be more in place hereafter. I will return to the proofs that the corruption and iniquities of these men are the cause of the present posture of our affairs. When you had been overreached by Philip through the agency of your Ambassadors who received his pay and never reported to you a word of truth, and when the miserable Phocians also had been betrayed and their Cities destroyed, what followed? The abominable Thessalians and the senseless Thebans regarded Philip as their friend, their benefactor, their saviour—he was everything to them; not a word would

they hear if any one attempted to dispute it. You, though you regarded his conduct with suspicion and displeasure, nevertheless maintained the peace, for you were unable to act without support; while the other States of Greece, cajoled and disappointed of their hopes in common with yourselves, were disposed towards peace, though for a long time war had been virtually made also upon them. For when Philip in his discursive operations was subduing the Illyrians, the Triballians, and even some of the Grecian States, and making many important additions to his power; and when certain citizens of the Grecian States took advantage of the peace to go to Macedon, and there sell themselves to him (of whom Æschines was one), then war was in effect made upon those against whom all these preparations were directed. If they failed to perceive it, that is another matter, the fault is not mine. I was ever warning and protesting, both here among you and in every place to which I was sent. But the States were rotten, their public men were tampered with and corrupted, their private citizens and the multitude were either blind to the future, or snared by the bait of present indolence and ease, while all seemed affected by a certain mental malady, which led each State to believe that the pending ruin would fall upon all except herself, nay,

that she could at her own time secure her safety by the perils of her neighbours.

Then the natural result followed that the body of the people paid the price of their excessive and unseasonable supineness, in the loss of their liberty ; while the leading men, who supposed that they were selling all but themselves, found that they themselves were the first thing they had sold. For instead of ' friends and guests,' by which terms they were addressed during the process of their corruption, ' parasites,' ' enemies of the Gods,' and other appropriate epithets are now bestowed upon them. And it is but just. For no man, Athenians, bestows his bribe for the benefit of the bribed ; nor when he has acquired possession of what he has bought, does he any longer retain the traitor in his confidence. If it were so, most prosperous would be the traitor's condition ! But it is not so, it cannot be. When the schemer for empire has established his power, he acquires, among other property, complete dominion over those who have sold it to him, and treats them with the distrust, the loathing, and the contumely which he knows their baseness to deserve.

Now, observe—for if the time of these events is past, the time for deriving instruction from them is ever present to right-minded men. Lasthenes was

called the friend of Philip for a time, until he betrayed Olynthus ; Timolaus, for a time, until he ruined Thebes ; for a time, Eudicus, and Simon of Larissa, until they brought Thessaly under Philip's yoke. Since then the whole habitable world has been filled with ejected, insulted, and much enduring traitors. How fared Aristratus in Sicyon ? how Perilaus in Megara ? are they not outcasts ? From these considerations, it is plain, that whoso most faithfully guards the interest of his Country, and most strenuously opposes you traitors and hirelings, Æschines. is the very man who maintains the source of your corruption : it is because we have here among us many such men to oppose your counsels that you are preserved to receive your pay, whereas, had you been left to your own devices you would have long since perished. ✓

I might say much more about the events of this period, but I cannot help thinking that I have already said too much. He must bear the blame who has spirted over me, if I may so speak, the foul lees of his own baseness and rascality, thus necessitating my cleansing myself in the sight of those of you who are younger than the events. At the same time, I fear that I must have wearied those who were familiar with his venality before I alluded to ✓

it. He calls it forsooth 'friendship and hospitality;' and in some passage of his speech, he referred to the man 'who taunted him with having been the guest of Alexander.' I taunt you with being the guest of Alexander! How should you be, or deserve to be, his guest? I should never think of calling you either the friend of Philip, or the guest of Alexander—I have not so far taken leave of my senses—unless harvest reapers, or any other hired labourers, are to be called the guests of their employers. The notion is absurd. I call you nothing of the kind. But I say that you were formerly the hireling of Philip, and are now the hireling of Alexander; and so says every one here. If you doubt it, put the question to them, or rather, let me do it for you. Tell me, Athenians, is *Æschines* in your opinion the hireling, or the guest of Alexander? You hear what they say.

I mean now to address myself to the indictment itself, and to review my public conduct, that *Æschines* may hear, albeit he knows full well, the grounds on which I contend that I am justly entitled to the rewards which have been decreed to me, and even to rewards far greater.

Read to me the indictment itself.

(THE INDICTMENT.)

These, then, are the articles in the decree which he makes the subject of indictment, and from these very articles I think that I shall at the outset make it clear to you that the whole of my defence will be straightforward. For, adopting the same order as my adversary, I will speak of each of them in its turn, without one intentional omission. I apprehend that the question, whether or not Ctesiphon was justified in asserting and making it the subject of commendation, 'That I always in word and in deed consult the interest of the people, and am zealous in the public service,' can only be determined by my public conduct. From an examination of this, it will be found, whether what he has propounded concerning me be true and applicable, or whether it be false. The question whether he ought to have added to the paragraph relating to my crowning the proviso, 'after he shall have passed his audit,' or was justified in proposing that my crowning should be proclaimed in the theatre, appears to me to depend upon the same considerations as those applicable to my public conduct, viz., whether I am deserving of the crown and of the public proclamation or not. Nevertheless, I deem it my duty to point out to you those laws in accordance with which it was legal for Ctesiphon to propose the decree as it stands. In

this manner, Athenians, I have proposed to myself honestly and frankly to conduct my defence, and I now proceed to a review of my public conduct. And let no one suppose that I am straying from the indictment, if I advert to facts and considerations relating to the general affairs of Greece. For the man who arraigns as false the assertion in the decree, that 'all my actions and speeches are for my Country's good,' he it is who makes germane and necessary to the cause all that can be said on the subject of my public acts and administration. Further, inasmuch as, among the many departments open to public men, I have chosen that which is concerned with the general affairs of Greece, it is but fair that my evidence should be drawn from this source.

/// I shall pass over the conquests which Philip made and retained before I was concerned in affairs of State, or took part in the popular assemblies, because I conceive that they in no way concern me. But the checks which he experienced in his career of conquest from the time when I applied myself to public affairs, I will recall to your recollection, and of them I will render an account, with this preliminary observation. Philip was in possession, Athenians, of one great advantage. Among the States of Greece, not some of them only, but all alike, there happened to

spring up a crop of traitors, hirelings, and enemies of the Gods, such as had never before existed in the memory of man. Through the help and co-operation of these, Philip aggravated the intestine discord and animosities of the Grecian States. Some he deceived, some he bribed, others he corrupted by every conceivable artifice, and thus succeeded in splitting into many factions those whose interest was one and the same, to prevent his aggrandizement.

While all the Greeks were in this condition, and further, in a state of profound unconsciousness of the mischief growing and gathering around them, you have to consider, Athenians, what policy and measures it was the duty of this State to adopt, and to require a reckoning of them from me. For I am the man who applied himself to the conduct of this branch of your affairs.

I put it to yourself, *Æschines*, was it the duty of the State, in utter disregard of her dignity and her honour, to range herself with the Thessalians and the Dolopians on the side of Philip in his attempt to acquire the dominion of Greece, and to abandon all the rights and the glories our forefathers have won? Or if this were out of the question—for in truth its baseness would have been too palpable—should we have been justified in standing

passive spectators of events the occurrence of which we had long foreseen, unless some power interfered to avert it? I would fain ask the man most disposed to censure our conduct, which of two courses he would have desired us to adopt—that of co-operation, which may be imputed to the Thessalians and their followers, in bringing about the disasters and humiliations of Greece; or connivance in the hope of selfish advantage, such as we have beheld in the Arcadians, and the Messenians, and the Argives? And yet many of these, or rather all, have come off worse than ourselves. If, indeed, Philip, after his victory, had gone on his way and rested content, without committing aggressions on his own allies, or on the rest of Greece, a certain amount of blame and discredit might have attached on those who had opposed him; but inasmuch as he has despoiled all alike of their dignity, their power, their freedom, and, such as he could, of their very political existence, can it be that the counsels which you have adopted at my instance were not those most conducive to your honour?

I return to the question. What was the course, *Æschines*, which it became this Country to adopt, when she beheld Philip scheming to obtain for himself the sovereignty and dominion of Greece? What

language was I, your public counsellor, to hold, and what measures to propose, here at Athens (I say at *Athens*, for the place is of the utmost significance), conscious as I was that from the earliest times to the day when I myself mounted the tribune, my Country had ever striven for the lead among the nations in the career of honour and renown, and had expended more blood and treasure in pursuit of this high ambition, and of the common weal of Greece, than any of the other States had expended in its own behoof? I, who beheld Philip, our antagonist, in the pursuit of empire and sovereign sway submitting to the loss of an eye, the fracture of a collar-bone, the mutilation of a hand or leg; in short, readily and cheerfully sacrificing to Fortune any portion of his body she might choose to seize upon, so that with the rest he might live in glory and renown? Who will have the audacity to assert that Philip, bred as he was at Pella, then a small insignificant town, could possess such elevation of soul as to aspire to and compass the sovereignty of Greece; while you—Athenians—having before you, day by day, in all that you hear, and all that you see, the memorials of the greatness of your forefathers, could be capable of such degradation as willingly and spontaneously to surrender to Philip

the liberties of Greece? This no man living will dare assert.

The necessary course then, the only course open to you, was to oppose righteously his career of wrong. This you did from the beginning, wisely and worthily of yourselves. I, in the course of my administration, counselled and proposed the measures you adopted; I confess it.

But what ought I to have done? I put this question to you, laying aside all else—I refer not to Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, Halonnesus—as for Serrium, Doriscus, and the destruction of Peparethus, and other similar injuries which he has inflicted upon the State, I will ignore their very existence. (You accuse me indeed of engaging the Country in hostilities by dwelling on these wrongs, whereas all the decrees respecting them were proposed by Eubulus, Aristophon, and Diopithes, not by me, you unscrupulous asserter of whatever serves your purpose—I will say nothing now, however, on these subjects.) But this I ask, was the man who appropriated to himself Eubœa, and turned it into a fortress against Athens, who was laying hands on Megara, and seizing on Oreus, and razing Porthmus, and setting up Philistides as Tyrant in Oreus, and Clitarchus in Eretria, who was reducing the Hellespont to subjection, be-

sieging Byzantium, and destroying some of the Cities of Greece, while he was forcing others to receive back their exiles—I ask, was the perpetrator of all these deeds committing wrongs, was he violating the faith of treaties, was he breaking the peace, or was he not? And was it the duty of some Grecian Power to stand forth and oppose these proceedings, or was it not? If there was no such duty, but if Greece was to be beheld reduced to the condition described by that byword, a Mysian prey, and this while Athenians yet lived and breathed, why then all that I have said on these subjects, all that you have done at my instance has been but officious meddling, and on my head be the blame of all the blunders which have been committed, and of all the wrongs which have been done! But if it was the duty of some Power to stand forth and oppose these aggressions, what Power should that be but the Athenian people?

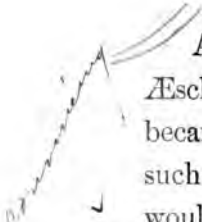
Such, then, was the tenor of my public conduct. I opposed myself to the man whom I saw attempting to enslave mankind, and I have uniformly warned and advised you not to acquiesce in this tyranny of Philip. Nevertheless, Æschines, it was not we who actually broke the peace, but he, by seizing on our ships. Produce the decrees themselves, and the letter of Philip, and read them in their order; for

upon an examination of them it will become apparent to whom and for what responsibility attaches. Read.

(THE DECREE.)

This decree was proposed by Eubulus, not by me, and that next in order by Aristophon, the next by Hegesippus, the next again by Aristophon, the next by Philocrates, the next by Cephisophon, and then follow the others. But I proposed no decree with reference to these matters. Read the decree.

(THE DECREE.)



As I have produced these decrees, do you now, Æschines, show what decree I proposed, whereby I became answerable for the war. But you have no such decree; if you had there is none which you would have been more anxious to produce.

But further, even Philip imputes no blame to me on the subject of the war, while he accuses others. Read Philip's own letter.

(THE LETTER OF PHILIP.)

He makes no mention of Demosthenes, nor does he impute any blame to me. But why, while he complains of others, does he not so much as refer to my measures? Because he must have awakened the

recollection of his own misdeeds if he had written a word about me. For on those misdeeds I dwelt, those misdeeds I steadily opposed. I began by proposing the embassy to the Peloponnesus when he was first trying to creep into the Peloponnesus ; then the embassy to Eubœa, when he laid hands on Eubœa ; then the expedition, no longer an embassy, to Oreus, and the other to Eretria, when he set up despots in those cities. After that I sent out all the expeditions, whereby the Chersonesus, and Byzantium, and all our allies were preserved. From all this the most glorious results accrued to you, praises, honour, glory, crowns, thanks from peoples you had befriended. Of the parties attacked, those who placed confidence in you obtained deliverance, while those who disregarded your warnings had frequent occasion to recall them, and to appreciate at once your true friendship and prophetic wisdom ; for everything happened to them as you had foretold.

That Philistides would have given much money to keep Oreus, Clitarchus much to keep Eretria, and Philip himself much to hold these posts available against you, at the same time to avoid being called to account on other matters, and completely to escape all investigation of his misdeeds ; of all this no one is ignorant, and you, Æschines, least of all ; for the

Ambassadors who came hither from Clitarchus and Philistides lodged with you, and you were their entertainer. These men whom the City expelled as enemies because they proposed what was at once dishonourable and injurious, were your friends. But none of their designs were accomplished. What, then, becomes of your slanderous assertion that 'I hold my tongue when I have got a bribe, and bellow when I have spent it'? This is certainly not your custom, for you bellow when you have got your bribe, and will never cease to bellow, unless, by the judgment of to-day, you are at once silenced and disfranchised.

When you conferred a crown upon me for these services, and when Aristonicus proposed a decree identical to the letter with that proposed by Ctesiphon now, and my coronation was proclaimed in the theatre (the present being the second occasion when such proclamation has been proposed on my behalf), Æschines, although then present, neither opposed it nor indicted the proposer. Take this decree and read it; read.

(THE DECREE.)

Is any of you aware of any disgrace, or opprobrium, or ridicule having fallen on the State in con-

sequence of this decree, such as he predicts must now fall upon it, if I am crowned? While acts are recent and notorious, then is the time for public opinion to pronounce whether they deserve reward or punishment—at that time it appears that I received reward, not punishment, nor censure.

Up to the time, therefore, of these transactions, it must be admitted that I uniformly pursued the policy most beneficial to the State. This is proved by my speeches and measures prevailing in your assemblies; by the practical adoption of those measures, whereby crowns accrued to the State, to myself, and to you all; by your instituting sacrifices and thanksgivings to the Gods for your success. Subsequently, when Philip was expelled from Eubœa by your arms, but I assert (though it should burst the spleen of some of those persons) by my measures and my policy, he resorted to another method of assailing the State. Being aware that we consume more imported corn than any other people, he advanced towards Thrace with a view to get the control of the corn trade, and at first called on the Byzantians, as his allies, to join him in a war with us; and when they refused, protesting, and protesting truly, that such were not the terms on which they had entered into alliance with him, he constructed his

✓

lines, planted his battering engines, and laid siege to their City. Upon the occurrence of these events I will not again inquire what course it became us to take: this must be plain to all. But who was it that succoured the Byzantians and saved them? Who at that juncture prevented the alienation of the Hellespont? It was you, Athenians; and when I say you, I mean the State. But who spoke in your assemblies? who proposed the measures? who saw to their execution, and devoted himself wholly and unsparingly to the public service? I. What benefits resulted to all from these measures you do not now require to be informed, for you have felt their operation. The war which then ensued, in addition to the glory which accrued from it, enabled you to obtain all the necessaries of life more abundantly and cheaply than the peace does now; that peace which certain worthy citizens maintain against the interest of their Country in the hopes of some future advantage. May those hopes be confounded! may they never share in the blessings for which you, the good citizens, offer up your prayers to Heaven! may they never involve you in the fate which they have been preparing for themselves!

Read to the Jury the decrees of the Byzantians,

and of the Perinthians, conferring crowns upon the State for her services.

(THE BYZANTINE DECREE.)

Now read the decree of the people of the Chersonesus.

(THE DECREE OF THE CHERSONESITES.)

Hence it appears that my measures and policy had the effect not merely of saving Chersonesus and Byzantium, of preventing Philip's acquisition of the Hellespont, and of procuring for us credit for these operations, but of contrasting in the sight of the world the high-minded conduct of this State with the infamy of Philip. He, the ally and the friend of the Byzantians, was beheld laying siege to their City—could anything be more infamous and outrageous?—while you, who had many causes of just resentment for wrongs which they had done you in past times, took not the opportunity of revenge, stood not even aloof from them in their distress, but appeared in the character of their deliverers! By this conduct you acquired the honour, the respect, the sympathy of the world. It is perfectly well known that before now you have crowned many of your public men; but no individual can be named (I mean no States-

man or Orator) by means of whom the State has been crowned, except myself.

I now proceed to prove that all the evil things which he has spoken of the Eubœans and the Byzantians, carefully calling to your recollection any ill-turn which they may have done you, are merely the outpourings of malice, not only in that they are false—I believe that you know this—but because if they were ever so true, still the policy that I pursued was for your advantage; and for this purpose I desire to refer in a few words to one or two instances in your own days of the magnanimous conduct of the State. For individuals in their private capacity, States in their public affairs should ever strive to model their conduct after the example of what is most glorious in their past.

At the time then, Athenians, when the Lacedæmonians had the mastery of land and sea, and held the country surrounding Attica by their governors and garrisons, Eubœa, Tanagra, the whole of Bœotia, Megara, Ægina, Cleonœ, and the islands besides; at that time, when you had neither ships nor walls, did you sally forth to Haliartus, and a few days later to Corinth, although the Athenians of that day had many grounds of complaint against the Corinthians and the Thebans on account of their conduct in the

Decelean war. But they indulged not their resentment ; they gave it not a thought. They took these steps, well aware that they were requiting no favours ; not insensible of the hazard which they ran. But it was not by such considerations that they could be induced to abandon those who fled to them for protection ; for the sake of glory and renown they resolved to brave every peril ; and their resolve was right—their resolve was glorious. No man can escape death, the termination of all mortal life, by keeping himself hidden in a cellar ; the brave should be ever ready to set forth on the path of glory, armed with high hope and courage, prepared to accept without a murmur the fate which Heaven may ordain. Thus did your forefathers, thus did the elder among yourselves, who interposed and frustrated the attempts of the Thebans, after their victory at Leuctra, to destroy the Lacedæmonians, although you had experienced from the Lacedæmonians, instead of friendship and good offices, many grievous wrongs : you neither quailed before the power and renown which the Thebans then possessed, nor did you scrutinise the conduct of those on whose behalf you undertook the war. By this conduct you proclaimed to all the Greeks that how much soever any of them may offend against you, you reserve your resentment for

other occasions ; but that if danger threaten their existence or their liberties, you will take no account of, you will not even remember your wrongs.

Nor was it merely on these occasions that you thus acted, but subsequently, when the Thebans were endeavouring to gain possession of Eubœa, you did not hold your hands under the recollection of the injuries which you had received from Themison and Theodorus in the affair of Oropus, but you sent succours even to them. It was at the time of the first institution of voluntary Trierarchs, of whom I was one : but of this hereafter. Certainly you acted nobly when you saved the island ; but you acted still more nobly when, having in your power both their persons and their Cities, you scrupulously restored them to those who had offended you, executing your trust without a reckoning of your wrongs. A thousand other instances to which I might refer I pass by, of expeditions by sea and land, of campaigns in past times and in your own, all undertaken by the State on account of the safety and freedom of the rest of Greece. Seeing then, as I did, the State ready to embark in so many arduous struggles on behalf of the interests of others, what advice was I to give, what course to propose, when the question in a measure concerned herself ? Should I, forsooth, have advised

you to rake up old grudges against those who were appealing to us for deliverance? and to seek pretexts for neglecting everything that it was our duty to do? Who would not have had a right to kill me, if I had but so much as uttered a word to tarnish the glory of my Country? I say, if I had but uttered such a word; as for the thing, you would not have done it, that I know full well. If you had been so disposed, what was there to prevent you? Were not these counsellors at hand to advise it?

I now desire to return to the next in order of my public acts: and here again I beg you to consider what was most for the public interest. I found your navy falling into decay, Athenians; the rich escaped their fair contribution by trifling payments, while the substance of citizens with moderate or small means was being consumed, and thus it befell that we were always behindhand when the time of action came. I thereupon proposed a law, whereby I compelled the rich to do their duty, and put an end to the injustice under which the poor were suffering, and, what is most important of all, secured the equipment of our fleets at the time when they were wanted. On being indicted for proposing this law, I appeared before you and was acquitted, my prosecutor failing to obtain one-fifth of the votes. What

sums do you suppose the principal contributories, or even those who stood in the second or the third class, were ready to give me, if possible not to have brought forward my law; but if I could not help that, then after registering it, to let it drop under the customary oath.¹ Such sums, Athenians, as I am afraid to mention. And it was well worth their while; for according to the previous law they were allowed to contribute in batches of sixteen, so that they themselves paid little or nothing, while they ground down the poorer citizens: but my law compelled each man to contribute according to his means,—a trierarch was compelled to furnish two ships instead of contributing a sixteenth part of one—indeed, they had come to call themselves no longer ‘trierarchs’ but ‘contributories.’ They would have given anything to get my measure annulled and to escape the performance of their duty. Read first the enactment on account of which I was brought to trial, and then read the respective muster rolls (of those

¹ That is, the *ὑπωμοσία*, whereby any citizen could postpone the operation of a law by binding himself on oath to prosecute the proposer of it. From this proceeding a compromise not infrequently resulted, the legislator agreeing to drop his law if the prosecutor would drop his prosecution.

rated as trierarchs) before and after the passing of my law.

(THE DECREE.)

Now read that precious muster roll.

(THE ROLL.)

Now the muster roll made after my law.

(THE ROLL.)

Think you that the benefit was small which I conferred upon the poor among you? think you the sum was small which the rich would have paid to escape their duty? Not that I claim credit only because I refused to truckle to them, or because I was acquitted on the trial; I mainly take credit for having passed a useful law, and having proved its utility in practice. For during the whole of the war, so long as our naval expeditions were regulated by my law, not a single trierarch presented a petition complaining of having suffered injustice, nor did one flee for sanctuary to Munychia, nor was one placed in custody by the inspectors of the fleet, nor was one ship lost to the State by capture at sea, nor was one left in port as unseaworthy: all which things had been of frequent occurrence under the former law, because the poor on whom the tax fell were

unable to bear it; hence the frequent breakdown of the service. But I transferred the burden of the navy from the poor to the rich, upon which its condition became altogether satisfactory.

I contend further that I deserve credit on this especial ground, that all my measures were measures from which the State has reaped honour, renown, and strength; that there is nothing malicious, envious, or corrupt in my policy—nothing mean, nothing unworthy of my Country. In the selfsame spirit shall I be found to have conducted both your home affairs and your relations to Greece. In my home administration I have not sacrificed the just rights of the many to the favour of the rich, nor in my foreign policy have I preferred the bounty and the friendship of Philip to the common weal of Greece.

It is now time, I conceive, for me to address you on the subject of the proclamation and the accounts. For that I 'have always acted for the best, and have been devoted to your interests and anxious to serve you,' has been, I venture to think, made abundantly clear by what I have already said. If I omit mention of the most important parts of my policy and administration, it is because I apprehend that I am now called upon by the order of the charges to address my argument to the legality of the decree;

and further because I am well aware that without saying a word about the rest of my public acts, I shall have the benefit of that knowledge of them which must be present to the mind of each of you.

As for the observations which he has twisted and jumbled together concerning the laws specified as having been infringed, by Heaven! I scarcely think you understand them; I certainly was and am unable to follow the greater part of them myself. However, I will proceed by the straight road to the merits of the question. So far am I from asserting that I am not accountable, as he just now falsely accused me of asserting, that I confess myself to have been and to be accountable, during the whole of my life, for all that, as your public servant, I have done or advised. But for what I have voluntarily presented to the people out of my private means, I declare that I was not and am not responsible for a single day,—do you hear, *Æschines*? No—nor is any other man, though he were one of the nine Archons. Where is the law so unjust, so inhuman, as to deprive of public thanks the man who has had the generosity and munificence to make a present to the State out of his private means, to hand him over to his calumniators, and constitute them the auditors of his bounty? There is no such law. If he says that there is, let

him point it out, and I will submit and hold my peace. But there is none, men of Athens, and he is a slanderer when he says, because I was administrator of the theoric fund when I made my gift, 'the Senate decreed him honours when he was accountable.' It was for nothing in respect of which I was accountable, but for what I presented to the State, calumniator!

But then he says, 'you were superintendent of the fortifications.'

I was; and for this very reason I deserved the thanks which I received, because I made a present of the sums expended, when I might have made a charge. A charge is the subject-matter of reckoning and of audit: a gift deserves thanks and commendation: for this reason did Ctesiphon propose the decree in my favour.

That this distinction is not a mere creature of the law, but has its root in your national character, I can easily show by numerous examples. For, in the first place, Nausicles, while he commanded your forces, has been often crowned by you for what he has spent from his private means on the public service. Again, Diotimus, and subsequently Charidemus, were crowned in return for shields presented by them. Again, Neoptolemus, whom I see here, while

still superintending many public works, was honoured in return for donations. It would be, indeed, monstrous, if a man serving a public office were either forbidden, by reason of his office, to make a present to the State, or if he did, were subjected to scrutiny instead of receiving the thanks of the public. To show that I am speaking correctly, take and read the actual decrees proposed in honour of these men. Read.

(A DECREE.)

(ANOTHER DECREE.)

Each of these men, Æschines, was accountable in respect of the office which he held, but not accountable in respect of the matters for which he was crowned. For the same reason neither am I: what is justice to other men surely is, under the same circumstances, justice to me. Did I make a gift? I receive thanks for it, but I am not accountable for what I gave. Did I hold an office? Yes—and I have rendered an account of my office, not of my gifts. Aye, but have I been guilty of malversation in my office? Why, then, when I appeared before the public auditors, and you were present, did you not accuse me? To show you that he himself bears testimony to my having been crowned in respect of

those matters for which I am not accountable, read me the whole decree which was then recorded in my honour, for the very portions of the proposal which he does not challenge, prove the malice of his complaints against the rest. Read.

(A DECREE.)

These, then, are the gifts I made to the State, none of which have you arraigned; but the acknowledgment which the Senate declared proper to be made to me for them, this you do arraign. While you admit, then, that it was lawful to receive my gifts, the gist of your accusation is, that it was unlawful to thank me for them. If it were possible to conceive a wretch utterly infamous, abandoned, and hateful to the Gods, would not this be he?

With respect to the proclamation in the theatre of my coronation, I do not dwell on the fact that thousands have been a thousand times so proclaimed, and that I myself have been often crowned before. But, good Heavens! Æschines, are you so absurd and senseless as to be unable to perceive that the recipient of the crown is as much honoured by its proclamation in one place as in another: and that the proclamation is made in the theatre for the benefit of those who bestow the crown? For all

the hearers are thereby incited to zeal in their Country's service, and their applause is bestowed rather upon those who display their gratitude than on him who receives the crown. These are the grounds on which the law was passed. Now read to me its words.

(THE LAW.)

Do you hear, Æschines, the law declaring in plain words—‘Unless the people or the Senate shall so vote, in which case it may be proclaimed’? Of what avail, then, unhappy man, are your false charges? your fine-spun sophistries? Would it not be well to purge your brain with hellebore? have you no shame for having instituted a prosecution out of private malice when no offence has been committed? for perverting some laws, reading garbled extracts from others, when in common justice they ought to be presented in their entirety to those who have sworn to give their judgment according to the laws?

Such being your own conduct, you are pleased to describe to us what should be the attributes of a patriot statesman. This is very like ordering of a sculptor a statue after a given design, and then accepting a piece of work without a feature of your

design—as if patriot statesmen were estimated by their words, instead of by their deeds and their public conduct! Then, as if you imagined yourself on a stage-waggon, you shout and bellow things unutterable, befitting well enough yourself and your class, but with which I have no concern. I have only to say, Athenians, that I conceive vituperation to differ from accusation in this, that accusation deals with crimes to which the laws have assigned punishments, vituperation with foul words which personal enemies are in the habit of bestowing on one another, each after his kind; and I understand your forefathers to have erected these Courts of Justice not that you might be hither convened to hear us assail each other with all the scandal that can be attached to our private lives, but to convict public offenders. *Æschines*, knowing this as well as I do, has chosen to rail instead of to accuse.

Yet even in this kind of warfare it is scarcely fair that he should receive less than he gives. Before I resort to it, however, I will put this question to him. Are you to be designated, *Æschines*, as the enemy of the State or of myself? Of myself you must needs say. If so, why, on all the occasions when you might have punished me on behalf of the people, on the occasion of the audit of my accounts, on the

occasion of the indictments, on the occasion of other trials—why on all these occasions did you forbear to do this? and why, now, that I stand absolved by the laws, by lapse of time, by efflux of the period for accusations, by the fact that trials have taken place repeatedly upon all these matters without any offence having been ever brought home to me, and when the State herself has necessarily shared in some degree the credit of my public administration, why do you now for the first time interpose? Have a care lest you be really your Country's enemy while you affect to be mine. ✓

I conceive, Athenians, that you have already heard enough to determine the just and righteous vote to be given in this trial, nevertheless it would seem that I am called upon (albeit naturally indisposed to invective), by way of reply to the numerous slanders and falsehoods which he has uttered, to make a few and strictly necessary remarks concerning himself, and to show who is the man, and from whom descended, who so unscrupulously sets the example of personal abuse, and carps at some expressions of mine, while he has himself used language with which no decent man would pollute his lips.

If Æacus, or Rhadamanthus, or Minos, had been

my accuser, instead of this empty spouter, this hack of the Forum, this pestilent scribe, I conceive that he would not have inflicted upon us such offensive rant, roaring like a tragic actor, 'O Earth, O Sun, O Virtue,' and so forth; nor have invoked 'Intellect and education, by which the noble is distinguished from the base,' such stuff as you heard from Æschines. What concern have you and yours, you miscreant, with virtue? What faculty have you of distinguishing what is noble or the reverse? Whence did you derive it? how or upon what ground do you claim it? What right have you to speak of education? education! which those who really possess it never arrogate to themselves—they blush if it is even ascribed to them by others; while dull pretenders like yourself fail to establish their title to it, and succeed only in disgusting their hearers.

Though at no loss for facts concerning you and yours, I am at some loss where to begin. Shall I relate how your father, Tromes, served in chains and collar of wood, Elpias, who kept a school by the Temple of Theseus? How your mother, by her morning nuptials in the stall adjoining the statue of Heros the bone-setter contrived to rear her hopeful son, that model of the human form, that paragon of third-rate actors! But I should be telling no more

than all the world knows. Or shall I relate how Phormio, the galley piper, the slave of Dion, of Phrearrii, removed her from this exemplary course of life?

But, by Zeus and all the Gods, I am apprehensive lest I should be led into the use of language which, however well deserved by you, would be unworthy of myself. I will, therefore, pass by all this, and come to his own conduct, for his is no ordinary character; it is precisely that which is execrated by the people. It is but lately—lately, do I say? why, but yesterday, on his becoming at once an Athenian and an orator, that he changed his father's name from Tromes, by the addition of two syllables, into Atrometus, and bestowed the august title of Glaucothea on his mother, who had been universally known by the name of Empusa, a name plainly derived from her habits of all doing, and all suffering. What other derivation could it have? Yet such, Æschines, is the ingratitude and baseness of your nature, that whereas, by the favour of those whom I now address, you have attained from slavery to freedom, from beggary to wealth, instead of returning their good offices, you scheme against them in the service of their enemies.

Whether or not in any of his speeches he has

advocated his Country's cause, a matter possibly open to discussion, I forbear to inquire, and will only remind you of what he has manifestly done in the interest of your enemies. Who is ignorant how Antiphon, who had been struck off the roll of citizens, came to this City in pursuance of an undertaking with Philip to set fire to your arsenal? When I apprehended that man, then lurking in the Piræus, and brought him before the public assembly, this mischief-maker, by shouting and roaring that I was doing something monstrous in a free State, oppressing unfortunate citizens, and entering their houses without legal warrant, contrived to effect his release. And had not the Council of Areopagus, perceiving the true nature of the case, and the error into which you had been led at a critical moment, made further inquisition after him, and caused him to be arrested, and sent back to you, a criminal such as he would have been snatched from your grasp, have slipped away from justice, and been sent out of the country by reason of the eloquence of yon solemn declaimer. As it was, you put him to the torture and to death, as you ought to have done his advocate. It was in consequence of their acquaintance with the conduct of Æschines on this occasion that the Council of Areopagus, when you

elected him as your advocate to support your claim to the custody of the Temple of Delos (through that same negligence of your interests by which your public affairs have often so seriously suffered), availing themselves of the power you had delegated to them to act for you, drove him away as a traitor, and assigned the task of speaking to Hyperides. And this they did giving their votes as soon as they had left the altar, when not a single vote was given for that miscreant. To show that I speak truth, call me the witnesses to this transaction.

(WITNESSES.)

Thus the Council by removing him when about to plead the cause, and appointing another speaker, pronounced him a traitor and your enemy.

Here is one passage then in the life of this promising statesman very like, is it not, to that of which he accuses me? Now let me remind you of another. When Philip sent Python the Byzantian as his ambassador, and managed that all his allies should send their ambassadors at the same time, for the purpose of proving Athens to be in the wrong, and covering her with disgrace; and when Python made a vapouring speech, pouring a torrent of invective upon you, I beat no retreat, I yielded not an inch, I deserted not the just claims of my Country, but I stood up

and replied to him, and so convincingly did I prove Philip a wrong-doer that his own very allies rose in their places and admitted it; but Æschines sided with Python, and bore witness, aye, false witness, against his Country. Nor was this enough, for subsequently he was discovered holding interviews with Anaxinus the spy, in the house of Thraso. Why, the man who holds secret meetings and conferences with an emissary of the foe is himself a veritable spy, and an enemy of his Country. To prove the truth of my words, call me the witnesses of these things.

(WITNESSES.)

A hundred other things which might be urged against him I omit, for it stands thus. I am able to adduce numerous instances about that time of conduct on his part designed at once to serve your enemies and to mortify myself. But these are matters which you do not recollect as clearly as you ought, nor resent as they deserve. So far from it, you have a bad habit of allowing any one who chooses full licence to thwart and calumniate the statesman who consults your true interest; thus bartering your Country's welfare for the pleasure and gratification of listening to invective. Hence it is

easier and safer to serve the enemy as a hireling, than to defend your liberties as a statesman.

To have manifestly co-operated with Philip before the war, was atrocious—Oh ! Heaven and Earth ! how could it be otherwise ?—for it was against his Country ! Forgive him this, however, if you will, forgive him this. But when our ships had been openly seized, when the Chersonesus was overrun, when the man was marching against Attica, when the situation no longer admitted of doubt, and we were actually at war, nothing whatever can that malicious verse-spouter show to have been done by him on your behalf ; nor is there on record one measure, great or small, proposed by Æschines for the benefit of the State. If he says that there is, let him point it out now, though he trench on the time allotted to me : but there is none. Then of two things, one, he either abstained from proposing measures different from mine, because he had no fault to find with mine, or he kept his better measures to himself, out of regard for the interest of your enemies. But when an opportunity occurred of doing you an injury then did he refrain from speaking speeches, as steadily as he had refrained from moving measures ? On such occasions no one else could be heard.

Nevertheless, all his other offences might have been endured by the Country, or have escaped detection; but there is one, Athenians, wherein he excelled himself, and which may be regarded as the crowning point of his career. It was on this he expended such a multitude of words, going through the decrees about the Amphissian Locrians, with a view to pervert the truth. But the facts are too plain; speak as long as you will, Æschines, never, never will you wash yourself clean of the guilt of that transaction.

In your presence, Athenians, I invoke all the Gods and Goddesses, guardians of the Attic territory, and Pythian Apollo, the Father-God of this City, and implore them all, as I shall speak the truth before you, as I did speak the truth in public, at the instant when I found this miscreant applying himself to the work (for I detected him, I detected him at once), so may they help and save me! if I prefer a false charge through enmity or private grudge, may I be bereaved of every blessing! Wherefore this solemn and emphatic adjuration? Because, possessing as I do written evidence in the public records by which I will prove my assertions beyond controversy, knowing as I do his conduct to be in your memory, I still fear lest he should be deemed too mean a cause for

the mighty mischiefs he has wrought; the very ground on which he escaped before, when by bringing to you false tidings he effected the ruin of the unhappy Phocians.

The Amphisian war, by means of which Philip got to Elateia, and was chosen to be the leader of the Amphictyons, whereby the affairs of all Greece were brought to ruin, was of his contrivance; your greatest calamities have been wholly and solely brought about by him. When I, at the time, protested and cried out in the Assembly, 'You are bringing war upon Attica, Æschines, an Amphictyonic war,' the men with whom the benches had been packed would not suffer me to be heard, while others wondered, and suspected that I was bringing a frivolous charge against him out of private malice. But hear ye, now, Athenians, since you were not suffered to hear then the true nature of these transactions, the purpose for which the scheme was concocted, and the means by which it was executed. You will observe a well-concerted plot, and be helped to a good deal of insight into the history of your own affairs, as well as into the depth of Philip's designs.

For him there was no end to the war with you, no relief from it, unless he could make the Thebans and Thessalians enemies of this Country.

Though your generals conducted your campaigns against him without success or skill, he suffered a thousand annoyances from the very existence of the war and the ravages of your cruisers. He could neither export the produce of his own Country nor import what he needed. He was not at that time stronger than you at sea : nor could he penetrate into Attica as long as the Thessalians refused to follow him, or the Thebans to give him a passage : even when he conquered in battle such generals as you sent to meet him—I say nothing on this subject—still he suffered much from the very nature of the country, and the inferiority of his resources.

Under these circumstances, he felt that if he tried to persuade the Thessalians or the Thebans to attack you in his own quarrel, he should meet with no response ; whereas, if he could make common cause with them and contrive to be chosen their general, he trusted, partly by deceit and partly by persuasion, to attain his ends.

What, then, was to be done ? He sets to work—observe how adroitly—to engage the Amphictyons in a war, and to create a disturbance at the Pylæan Congress ; for upon such an occurrence he speculated that his assistance would be immediately wanted.

Now, if this were set on foot by any of the

deputies sent by him, or by his allies, he thought that both Thebans and Thessalians would suspect the plot and be all upon their guard: whereas if it were effected by a deputy from the Athenians, his adversaries, it would easily escape detection: and so the event proved.

How, then, did he effect this? He hired Æschines. When nobody (I imagine) foresaw or was on his guard against the scheme in contemplation—just after the usual fashion in which you transact such business—Æschines was nominated as your deputy to Pylæ, and, on three or four hands being held up, was declared elected. Clothed with the authority of the State he arrived among the Amphictyons, and, oblivious of all else, forthwith applied himself to the business for which he had been retained. By delivering plausible harangues, and telling old-world stories about the consecration of the Cirrhæan plain in ancient times, he so far worked upon the priestly portion of the deputies (men unacquainted with the arts of rhetoric, and little foreseeing what was to happen), as to induce them to come to a vote for perambulating that region which the Amphiſſian Locrians claimed a right to cultivate, but which he alleged to be parcel of the sacred territory. The Locrians (by the way) were not then prosecuting any

suit against us, as he now falsely asserts. The assertion may be tested thus. It was not competent for the Locrians to institute a suit against this State without some previous citation. Who, then, served a citation upon us? In whose Archonship? Name the man who knows of such a citation; point him out; you cannot; the pretence is false and frivolous. Upon the Amphictyons perambulating the district at his instance, the Locrians fell upon them, and were nearly shooting them all down, and actually did make prisoners of some of the sacred deputies. Complaints immediately followed, and war was declared against the Amphissians: whereupon Cottyphus was at first placed in command of a force purely Amphictyonic, but as some of the contingents did not come, and those who came did nothing, Philip's creatures, the old traitors of Thessaly and the other States, proposed to hand matters over at once to Philip as Leader at the next Pylæan congress; and they had plausible pretexts to urge, for, said they, we have no alternative but to pay ourselves for the maintenance of mercenaries, and to punish those who refuse to do the like, or to elect Philip our Commander-in-Chief. To make a long story short, by these means he came to be chosen Commander. Immediately after this, collecting his forces and marching professedly on

Cirrhæa, he bids the Cirrhæans and the Locrians a long farewell, and seizes on Elateia. Had not the Thebans immediately changed their policy, when they saw this, and sided with us, the whole war would have fallen with the force of a winter's torrent upon this City. As it was, they stayed his career for the moment, chiefly, men of Athens, through the merciful interposition of some Divinity, but next, as far as it was to be effected by one man, through me. Give me the decrees and the dates of each of these transactions, that you may see what troubles that accursed wretch brought about, for which he is yet unpunished. Read me the decrees.

(THE DECREE OF THE AMPHICTYONS.)

(ANOTHER DECREE.)

Now read the dates of these transactions, for they are the dates at which he acted as our deputy. Read.

(DATES.)

And now give me the letter which Philip, when the Thebans would not listen to him, sends to his allies in the Peloponnesus, that even from this you may see plainly how he was dissembling the real nature of his designs, which were directed against

Greece, and the Thebans, and yourselves, while he affected regard for the common interests, and obedience to the Amphictyonic decrees. But this is the man who furnished him with these pretexts and excuses. Read.

(THE LETTER OF PHILIP.)

You observe how he avoids putting forward his own grounds of quarrel, and resorts to those of the Amphictyons. But who is the man who concerted this scheme with him? Who supplied him with these pretexts? Who is principal author of the calamities which ensued? Is not this the man?

Therefore, Athenians, go not about repeating that Greece owes all her misfortunes to one man.¹ No, not to one man, but to many abandoned men distributed throughout the different States, of whom, by Earth and Heaven, Æschines is one. If the truth were to be spoken without reserve, I should not hesitate to call him the common scourge of all the men, the districts, and the cities which have since perished; for the sower of the seed is answerable for the crop. I am astonished that you did not turn your faces from him the moment you beheld him;

¹ *I.e.* Philip.

but thick darkness would seem to veil from you the truth.

Reference to what has been done by him against the interest of his Country, brings me to the measures which I took to counteract his. On many grounds I am entitled to claim your attention on this subject; but first and foremost, because it would indeed be hard if, when I had endured the toil of working in your service, you had not even the patience to hear from me what I had done. When I saw the Thebans, and I had almost said yourselves also, under the influence of the partisans and hirelings of Philip among each of you, suffering Philip's power to increase without taking a single measure of precaution, a power menacing to you both, and requiring the most jealous watchfulness; when I saw you at the same time prone to mutual enmity, and ripe for a collision, I was constantly on my guard to prevent this consummation. In taking this course, I was not acting on my own judgment alone, for I was aware that Aristophon, and Eubulus also, had all along been anxious to bring about a good understanding with Thebes, and though often opposed on other questions, had always been agreed on this. You fail to perceive, Æschines, that these men, whom in their life-time you pestered

with your wily flattery, you are now accusing in their graves. For all the charges which you level against me, on the subject of the Theban alliance, fall with double force upon them, who before my time recommended that alliance to the Country. But to return to my narrative. When Æschines had set afoot the war in Amphissa, and others, his accomplices, had succeeded in creating a hostile feeling between the Thebans and ourselves, Philip marched upon us, the very object for which that party had embroiled the States. And if we had not gathered ourselves up a little before the blow fell, we might never have recovered from it. Such were the consequences of the hostility they had established. How your relations then stood with Thebes, will appear when you hear these decrees of yours and his answers to them. Read me the decrees.

(DECREE.)

(ANOTHER DECREE.)

Read now the answers.

(THE ANSWER TO THE ATHENIANS.)

(THE ANSWER TO THE THEBANS.)

Having, by these means, thus disposed towards each other the States of Greece, Philip, elated by these decrees and answers, advanced with his army and seized on Elateia, assuming that come what would it was no longer possible for the Thebans and yourselves to act in concert. The consternation which ensued in the City upon these tidings you all recollect, yet permit me to relate some of the most striking occurrences.

It was evening, when a messenger arrived with tidings for the Presidents that Elateia was taken; they rose instantly from the public supper-table; some drove the people from the stalls in the Forum, and set fire to the wicker work in order to clear the space; others sent for the Generals, and called the trumpeter: the whole City was in commotion. The next morning, at break of day, the Presidents convoked the Senate in the Senate House, and you repaired to the Assembly, and before the Senate could enter upon business or draw up the decree to be submitted to you, all the people had taken their seats in the Pnyx. When the Senate had entered, when the Presidents had communicated the intelligence which had been brought to them, when the messenger had been introduced and related his tidings, the Herald made proclamation, 'Who desires

to speak?' But no one came forward. Again and again did the Herald repeat the proclamation in the presence of all the Generals and all the Orators ; our Country's voice called out for a man to speak and save her : for the voice of the Herald raised at the law's command should be regarded as the voice of our common Country. Still not a man came forward. If what was required in the speaker then called for had been anxiety for the public safety, all of you, aye, and every other Athenian too, would have risen in your places and mounted the Tribune, for that you were all anxious to save the Country, I know full well : if it had been wealth, the 300 would have risen : if wealth and patriotism combined, all those who displayed both by the munificence of their subsequent contributions. But that crisis—that day called for a man, not merely of wealth and patriotism, but for one who had followed the course of events from their commencement, and had arrived at a thorough comprehension of the motives of Philip's conduct and of his ulterior designs ; for without such comprehension, without careful study of remote as well as proximate causes, no man, were he ever so wealthy, or ever so patriotic, could be qualified to form a sound judgment on the course to be pursued, or to give you trustworthy advice.

I was that man upon that day. I came forward and addressed to you what I pray you now to hear once more with your best attention, for two reasons: first, that you may see how I alone, of all your Orators and Statesmen, deserted not the patriot's post in the hour of peril, but was found in the extremity of the public alarm advising and proposing the measures necessary to your safety; and next, because at the expense of a little time you will obtain a clearer insight into the whole scope of our policy. I said then, that, in my opinion, those who viewed with great alarm the juncture of the Thebans with Philip were unacquainted with the real posture of affairs; for I felt sure that if the terms of this alliance were such as they supposed, we should hear not of his being now in Elateia, but upon our own frontiers. That he had come with the view of making things ready for him in Thebes, I well knew; but, said I, 'hear from me the true state of the case. He has already obtained the good offices of as many of the Thebans as he has been able to influence by his gold or to deceive; but he is totally unable to prevail upon those who have withstood from the beginning, and are still opposing him. What, then, is his object, and why has he seized on Elateia? His object is, by the display of

force in the neighbourhood and by bringing up his troops, to raise the courage and confidence of his friends, and to overawe his enemies, who are to be terrified or coerced into making to him concessions which they now refuse. If, then,' I said, 'we choose at the present juncture to remember every ill-turn which the Thebans have done us—to distrust them and treat them as enemies, in the first place we shall be doing the very thing that Philip would pray for: but further, I fear lest those now opposed to him may be brought over to his side, and all with one accord Philippizing together make a descent upon Attica. If, however, you will be advised by me, and will be pleased to regard what I am about to say as matter for reflection rather than disputation, I believe that my counsel will obtain your approbation, and be the means of averting the peril which now threatens the State. What, then, do I advise? First, shake off this panic, or rather change the direction of your fears from yourselves to the Thebans, for they are far nearer ruin than ourselves; the danger is theirs before ours. Next, let all of the age for foot service, and all your cavalry, march to Eleusis, and show yourselves to the world in arms: that the Thebans who are on your side may be as bold as their opponents, and speak out in

the cause of right, when they find that if there is at Elateia a force at hand to support the party who have sold their Country to Philip, your forces are no less at the disposal of those who would fight for freedom, and ready to succour them if they should be attacked. I further advise you to appoint ten Ambassadors, and to give them authority to determine in conjunction with your Generals when your troops shall arrive, and to make arrangements for their march. When your Ambassadors have arrived at Thebes, how do I recommend that their mission should be conducted? I beg your particular attention to this. Make no conditions with the Thebans, it would be unworthy on such an occasion; but simply declare your readiness to succour them if they require it, on the assumption that their peril is imminent, and that you are in a better position than they to forecast the future; so that if they accept our offers and adopt our views we shall have attained our object, and pursued a policy worthy of our Country; whereas, if our mission should prove abortive, they will have themselves to blame for any error they may now commit, and nothing mean or discreditable will have been done by us.'

Having said this, and more to the same effect, I left the Tribune. The Assembly unanimously agreed,

not a word was spoken in opposition to me. Nor was this all—not only did I make a speech, but I proposed a decree; not only did I propose the decree, but I went upon the embassy; not only went I upon the embassy, but I prevailed upon the Thebans. From the beginning to the end I conducted the whole business, and devoted myself wholly and solely to encountering the dangers which beset the State. And now produce the decree which was then passed. In what terms then, *Æschines*, shall I describe the parts which you and I enacted upon that day? Was I playing *Batalus* (as you jeeringly call me) while you, satisfied with no common part, were enacting some hero of the stage, a *Cresphontes*, or a *Creon*, or that very *Cenomaus* whom you once murdered by your bad acting at *Colyttus*? If so, I at that crisis, as *Batalus* of *Pæania*, acted a part more worthy of my Country than your *Cenomaus* of *Cothocidæ*. You were of no manner of use, while I did all that became a good citizen. Read the decree.

(THE DECREE OF DEMOSTHENES.)

This was the commencement and basis of our friendly relations with Thebes, the two Countries having before this been brought into a state of mutual hatred, distrust, and jealousy, by that party. This

decree caused the danger which then hung over the State to pass away like a cloud. Surely it was the duty of a good citizen, if he had any better counsel than mine to offer, to make it known at the time, instead of censuring me now. Between the statesman and the factious slanderer there is, indeed, no point of resemblance, but their characteristic difference is this : the one delivers his opinions before the events, and renders himself responsible to those who have adopted his advice, or to anybody who chooses to call him to account, for any chance which may befall or any juncture that may arise ; the other maintains silence at the proper time for speaking, and if anything goes wrong makes it the subject of abuse. I repeat, then, that was the occasion which called for an honest counsellor and sound advice ; nay, I will go to the extreme length of admitting that if any man is even now able to suggest any better course, or, indeed, any other possible course, than that taken by me, I deserve censure ; for if any measure is now discoverable which, if adopted then, would have been advantageous to us, I avow that it ought not to have escaped me. But if there is none such, nor ever was, if even at this day no such measure can be as much as suggested, what was the duty of a statesman ? Was it not to choose the best

available course under the existing circumstances and prospects? This is what I did, Æschines, upon the Herald inquiring, 'Who desires to speak?' not, 'Who desires to blame the past?' or 'Who to guarantee the future?' While you throughout that crisis sat mute in our assemblies, I came forward and spoke. But if you omitted then, expound even now. Say what advice which ought to have occurred to me did I overlook? What fitting time of action was lost through my neglect? What alliance was there, what negotiation, which I should have done better to recommend to my countrymen?

What is past and gone is, by general consent, thrown aside; there is little use in even discussing it; the future it is or the present which calls for the action of the statesman. At that time some calamities seemed impending, others had already befallen us. By the then existing circumstances judge my policy, instead of reproaching me with the event. The issue of all things is in the hands of Providence; the choice of measures it is which indicates the sagacity of the statesman. Impute it not as a crime to me if it was Philip's fortune to conquer in battle: the event of the battle was not in my hands, but in the hands of God. That I did not conceive all the expedients which human foresight could suggest, that

I did not put them into practice honestly, diligently, and with exertions beyond my strength, or that I did not adopt an honourable policy, worthy of the State and necessary to its preservation, show me this, and accuse me if you will. But if the tempest that has swept over us has been too strong, not only for ourselves but for all the other States of Greece—what then? You might as well hold the ship owner, who had taken all precautions, and furnished every necessary equipment, answerable for the wreck of his vessel, if her tackle were broken, or torn in pieces by a storm! ‘But I did not pilot the vessel,’ he might say; no more did I lead your troops to battle. I was not the disposer of Fortune. Fortune is the disposer of all things.

But consider and reflect on this. If, with the assistance of the Thebans, we have thus fared in the contest, what had we to expect, if instead of becoming our allies they had sided with Philip, a step which he advocated with every argument in his power? And if, when the battle took place three days’ march from Attica, such was the peril and alarm which came upon us, what would have been our condition if the same disaster had befallen within our own confines? As it happened, you know we were able to stand up, to meet together, to draw

breath ; much did that one or two or three days avail for the preservation of the State ! What if it had been otherwise ? But I forbear to allude to that which we have been spared by the blessing of Providence, and through the protection afforded by that very alliance which you make the subject of charge against me.

All these somewhat lengthened observations have been addressed to you, men of the Jury, and to the public who have listened from without ; as for this contemptible creature a few plain words were enough. If to you, *Æschines*, alone the future stood revealed when the State was deliberating on these affairs, then it was your duty to forewarn us ; but if you did not foresee it, you are as much responsible for ignorance as the rest of us ; if so, what better right have you to accuse me than I you ? I proved myself a better citizen than you in relation to the transactions of which I am speaking (others I do not now refer to), in as far as I devoted myself to the interest of the Country, without fear, without even a thought of any personal risk which I might incur ; while you neither proposed better measures than mine—if you had, mine would not have been adopted—nor did you lend the smallest assistance to the execution of mine : you thus stand convicted of conduct with

reference to these events such as might have been expected from the worst of men and most determined enemy of the State. By a singular coincidence it befalls that Aristratus in Nasus, and Aristolaus in Thasus, the bitterest enemies of the State, are bringing to trial the friends of the Athenians, at the same time that Æschines is accusing Demosthenes at Athens. Why, if right were done, the man who has made the calamities of Greece the capital on which to found his reputation, ought to perish, instead of being an accuser ; that man can be no friend to his Country who has profited by the same conjunctures as her enemies. That this is so you make manifest by your life, by your actions, by the part which you take in public affairs, and, what is more, by the part which you do not take. Is anything on foot which promises public advantage? Æschines is mute. Has anything gone wrong, and taken a turn adverse to your interests? Æschines is ready for action. As old fractures and sprains become painful afresh, when the body is attacked with disease.

But as he bases his invective so much on the event, I will venture on an assertion which may appear somewhat paradoxical. By all the Heavenly Powers be not amazed at my audacity, but give me

your favourable attention. I affirm then, that if the future had been apparent to us all; if all men had foreseen it; if you, Æschines, had foretold it and proclaimed it at the top of your voice instead of preserving total silence, nevertheless the State ought not to have deviated from her course, if she had regard to her own honour, the traditions of the past, or the judgment, of posterity. As it is, she is looked upon as having been unsuccessful in her policy—the lot of all mankind when such is the will of Heaven; but if, claiming to be the foremost State of Greece, she had deserted her post, she would have incurred the reproach of betraying all Greece to Philip. If we had abandoned without a struggle all which our forefathers braved every danger to win, who would not have spurned you, Æschines? God forbid that I should so speak of the State, or of myself. How, by Heaven, could we have looked in the face the strangers who flock to our City, if things had reached their present pass, Philip the chosen leader and lord of all, while others without our assistance had borne the struggle to avert this consummation? We! who in no former period of our history have preferred ignominious safety to peril in the path of honour! For what Greek, or what barbarian is ignorant that the The-

bans when they were in power, and before them the Lacedæmonians, aye, and even the King of Persia himself, would readily and cheerfully have permitted this State to hold what was her own, and to take what share she chose of the spoil, provided she would submit to the behests of a master and suffer another Power to assume the sovereignty of Greece? But counsels such as these were, it would seem, intolerable to the Athenians of those days—opposed to their traditions, alien to their nature—nor in all time has any man ever succeeded in persuading this Country to side with powerful wrongdoers and embrace secure slavery; but our whole national existence has been one continued struggle for the foremost place in the career of glory and renown. How sacred you deem these sentiments, how consonant to the genius of your Country, you yourselves testify by the veneration in which you hold the memories of your ancestors who have acted upon them; and you are in the right; for who can withhold admiration from the heroism of those men who had the resolution to leave their City and their Fatherland, and to embark on shipboard, rather than submit to the dictation of a foreign Power; choosing Themistocles, the adviser of the measure, for their Commander, and stoning to death Cursilus, who counselled

submission to the imperial mandates? Stoning him, do I say? why your very wives stoned his wife. The Athenians of those days went not in quest of an Orator or a General who could help them to prosperous slavery; but they scorned life itself, if it were not the life of freedom. Each of them regarded himself as the child, not only of his father and of his mother, but of his Country; and what is the difference? He who regards himself as the child of his parents only, awaits the approach of death in the ordinary course of nature, but he who regards himself as the child also of his Country, will be ready to lay down his life rather than see her enslaved, and will deem the insults and indignities to which the citizens of a subjugated State must needs submit more terrible than death.

If I had had the presumption to assert that it was I who inspired you with sentiments worthy of your ancestors, I should have been open to just rebuke from every man who hears me.¹ What I declare is, that these very sentiments are your own; that the

¹ Lord Brougham gives the very reverse of the meaning of this passage. He translates it: 'If, then, I should take upon me to affirm that it was I who made you entertain sentiments worthy of your forefathers, there lives not the man who could justly blame me.' The text is: *Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἀξία τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσει μοι.*

spirit of Athens was the same before my time; though I do claim to have had a share in the execution of particular measures: so that *Æschines*, when he impeaches the whole scope and spirit of our policy, and seeks to exasperate you against me as the author of all your alarms and perils, in his anxiety to deprive me of present credit, is in reality labouring to rob you of everlasting renown. For if by your vote against *Ctesiphon* you condemn my policy, you will pronounce yourselves to have been in the wrong, instead of suffering what has befallen you through the cruelty of Fortune. But you have not been in the wrong—you have not been in the wrong, Athenians, doing battle for the freedom and salvation of all! I swear it by your forefathers who bore the battle's brunt at *Marathon*, by those who stood in arms at *Plataea*, by those who fought the sea-fight at *Salamis*, by the men of *Artemisium*, and many more who now repose in the national monuments—gallant men—all of whom, *Æschines*, the State deemed equally worthy of the glory of a public funeral, not only those who had been successful and victorious! and it was right; for what gallant men could do was done by all, but a higher Power was master of their fate.

Are you, then, accursed scribbler, to declaim

about trophies, and battles, and great deeds of yore irrelevant to this cause, in order to rob me of the esteem and favour of my fellow-citizens? In what spirit, you mountebank, ought I to have ascended the Tribune, charged with the duty of advising my Country in a matter affecting her pre-eminence? In a spirit moving me to utterances unworthy of my countrymen? I should have deserved death. You yourselves, Athenians, judge not on the same principle public and private causes; the business of men in ordinary life you judge by a consideration of particular laws and particular acts: but in estimating the policy of statesmen you are bound to raise your vision to the dignity of your ancestors, and if you would emulate their example, each of you, as often as he sits in judgment on public affairs, should believe that he receives, together with the staff and badge of office, inspiration from the genius of his Country.

But in adverting to the achievements of your ancestors I have omitted some decrees, and some transactions. I will therefore return to the point from which I digressed. On our arrival at Thebes we found the Ambassadors of Philip, of the Thessalians, and his other allies, already there—our friends in alarm, his full of confidence. And to show that I

am not now for the first time making this assertion with a view to benefit my cause, read the letter which we, the Ambassadors, sent immediately on our arrival. Such is the rancour of this man's malignity, that if any success is attained he attributes it to circumstances, not to me ; but of all that goes wrong he lays the blame upon me and my evil genius. It would seem, according to him, that I, a statesman and public speaker, am entitled to no credit for the effects of my speeches and public counsels, but that for all the disasters of our arms and strategy I am solely answerable. Is it possible to conceive a more outrageous and execrable calumniator? Read me the letter.

(LETTER.)

At the meeting of the assembly the Ambassadors of Philip were introduced first, on the ground of their being allies. They came forward and harangued the people, descanting on Philip's praises, and making numerous imputations upon you ; reminding the Thebans of everything you had ever done adverse to their interests. In a word, they called upon the Thebans to prove their gratitude to Philip for his good offices, and to take vengeance on you for the wrongs you had done them, either by giving a passage to

Philip's troops, or by joining in the invasion of Attica, whichever they might prefer. And they proved, as they supposed, that if their counsels were adopted, the cattle, slaves, and other commodities of Attica would flow into Bœotia; whereas, if the advice which they said we were about to give were attended to, the Bœotian territory would be devastated by the war. This, and much more they said to the same effect. The arguments with which we met them I should desire better than anything in life to recapitulate to you, but I fear lest, now that the conjuncture has passed, you should deem these transactions effaced as it were by the flood of subsequent events, and regard reference to them as mere waste of time. But you shall hear the result of our persuasions and the answer they returned.

(ANSWER OF THE THEBANS.)

Upon this they invited and sent for you. You marched to their succour, and—to omit intermediate events—with such cordiality did they welcome you, that, while their own infantry and cavalry were quartered outside the walls, they received your army within their City and their homes, among their wives and children, and all that they held most precious. On that day the Thebans gave to you, in the face of

all mankind, three of the highest testimonials, the first of your valour, the second of your justice, and the third of your good conduct. For in choosing to fight with you, rather than against you, they judged that you were better soldiers, and engaged in a better cause than Philip; and by entrusting to you that which they in common with all mankind regard with the most jealous watchfulness—their children and their wives—they manifested their confidence in your good conduct. And in all this, Athenians, they showed a just appreciation of you. For after the army entered their City not a single complaint, well or ill founded, was made against you, so discreet was your behaviour. And in the first two battles fought in conjunction with them, that upon the banks of the river, and that in the winter campaign, you bore yourselves not only without reproach, but to admiration, by your discipline, your equipments, and your valour, upon which you acquired credit abroad, while at home you instituted sacrifices and thanksgivings to the Gods. I would fain ask of Æschines, when all this was going on, and the City was full of happiness, joy, and thanks, did he join with his fellow-citizens in sacrifices and rejoicings, or did he remain at home sorrowing and groaning and bemoaning over his Country's success? If he appeared

in public, and was to be found among the rest of the citizens, is it not scandalous, nay more, is it not impious in him to endeavour to induce you now, sitting as you are under the solemn sanction of your oath to Heaven, to condemn by your votes that policy, the public benefits of which he himself called the Gods to witness? But if he absented himself, does he not deserve a thousand deaths for grieving at the sight of that which filled his fellow-countrymen with joy? Read me these decrees.

(DECREES FOR SACRIFICES.)

We were then occupied in sacrifices. The Thebans were under the belief that they had been saved by us, and such had become the posture of affairs that those who had been reduced by the machinations of that faction to the condition of needing succour, were put into a position to succour others through your adoption of my counsels. What were the utterances of Philip at that time? How much he was disturbed by these events you will hear from his letters which he sent to the Peloponnesus. Now read me these letters, in order that you may see what was accomplished by my diligence, by my journeys, by my labours, by my numerous decrees, which Æschines has been deriding and running down.

You have certainly had among you, Athenians, many great and illustrious Orators before my time, the famous Callistratus, Aristophon, Cephalus, Thrasybulus, a thousand others; but none of them has ever devoted himself wholly and entirely to the public service. The proposer of the decree has not gone as Ambassador, the Ambassador has not been the proposer of the decree. For every one of them consulted somewhat his own ease, or, possibly, contemplated shifting the blame from himself in the event of ill befalling. 'How, then,' some one may say, 'did you so far surpass other men in strength and courage, as to be able to do everything yourself?' I say not so, but so impressed was I with the magnitude of the danger impending over the State, that the time appeared to me to admit not of a thought for my private safety, and I regarded every citizen as but too fortunate who could charge himself with no neglect of any part of his duty. As far as concerned myself, I certainly believed, perhaps foolishly, yet I did believe, that no man could have proposed better measures than myself, that no man could have given better effect to them, and that no man could have conducted an embassy with more zeal and integrity. Therefore I took upon myself all these functions.

(LETTERS.)

To this pass did my policy reduce Philip, Æschines. This is the tone which he was driven to adopt by me, after all the insolent language which he had before addressed to this Country. For this reason I was justly crowned by my fellow-citizens: you, Æschines, were present and did not oppose my crowning, and Diondas, who impeached the proposers, did not obtain a fifth part of the votes. Read me, then, these decrees, which were at the time confirmed by the acquittal, but which Æschines did not as much as complain of.

(DECREES.)

These decrees, Athenians, are identical to the word and the letter with that proposed by Aristonicus before, and now by Ctesiphon. Æschines neither impeached these himself, nor did he join with those who impeached them. And yet, if his present accusation be true, he had much better reasons then for prosecuting Demomeles and Hyperides, who proposed them, than he has now for prosecuting Ctesiphon. Why so? Because Ctesiphon is able to urge in his favour these precedents—the decisions of Courts of Justice, the fact of Æschines having abstained from accusing the proposers of decrees identical with the present, the principle of law which at this distance

of time forbids further prosecution in matters thus settled, and many other such arguments ; whereas at the time the cause would have been tried solely on its merits before it had been prejudiced by any such considerations.

On the other hand, I apprehend that *Æschines* could not then, as he has now, by culling materials of slander which nobody knew or expected to hear of to-day from many a bygone time, and many an obsolete decree, by transposing dates and assigning events to fictitious instead of their true causes, have got up the semblance of a case. This would not have been possible then, but all his statements must have been in accordance with the truth, when made face to face with recent facts which you bore in your memory, and upon each of which I had almost said you could lay your finger. For these very reasons, having ventured to make no charge on the occurrence of the transactions, he comes forward at this distance of time, imagining, as it appears to me, that you would treat this cause as a contest of Orators, rather than an inquiry into the administration of public affairs : and that your judgment would be passed on our eloquence rather than on the interests of the State.

Then, in order to prove that you ought to re-

nounce the opinion of him and of me which you brought to this trial, he resorts to a quibble. 'Granted,' he says, 'that you expect to find a balance in a man's favour, yet if on casting up the figures there proves to be none, you must own your mistake. So must you yield your prepossessions to the demonstration of my arguments.' Mark how inherently rotten is every unfair device. Why, by this ingenious illustration he has admitted that in your present opinion I am the advocate of my Country, he of Philip; for unless such had been your present opinion he would not have sought to change it. That he has no good ground, however, to allege for your changing your opinion I shall easily show—not by arithmetic, for this process is not applicable to public affairs—but by shortly recapitulating the heads of my argument, while I treat you who hear me as at once the auditors of my reckoning, and the witnesses for my defence.

It was owing to that policy of mine, which he impeaches, that the Thebans, instead of invading this Country with Philip, which was generally expected, joined their forces with ours and repelled him: that the seat of the war, instead of being in Attica, was 700 stadia from the City, on the confines of Bœotia; that instead of our being exposed to the

depredations of the Pirates of Eubœa, Attica was unmolested by sea during the whole war : that instead of Philip acquiring the Hellespont by the capture of Byzantium, the Byzantians were our allies against him. Do you insist on the arithmetical process being applied to public services? If so, should these articles be struck off the credit side of my account? or ought we not rather to provide that they be held in everlasting remembrance? I do not further count as an item in my favour that while others have experienced the cruelty with which Philip is capable of treating those whom he has once reduced to subjection, you have deservedly reaped the benefit of that generosity which he has found it convenient to exhibit to you in the prosecution of his ulterior designs. I pass this by.

But I do not hesitate to assert that whoso desired to criticise fairly, and not to calumniate the conduct of a public man, would never have made the sort of accusations which you have preferred, forging precedents, mimicking his very words and gestures—(why, one would suppose that the fate of Greece depended on whether I spoke this or that word, or moved my hand this way or that)—but he would have examined the facts, and ascertained what resources, what troops the Country

had when I entered public life; by how much I had augmented them during my administration, and how stood the affairs of our enemies: if I had caused a diminution of the public resources, he would have pointed out my misdeeds; if I had greatly increased them he would have abstained from vituperating me. Since you have avoided doing this, I will do it myself; and do you, Athenians, observe whether my statement is a fair one.

The powers of the State comprised the Islanders, not all, but the weakest of them, for neither Chios, nor Rhodes, nor Corcyra was with us: tribute she had amounting to 45 talents, and this was anticipated; we had no heavy infantry or cavalry beyond our native troops: but the source of greatest danger to ourselves and advantage to our foes was this, that the party of Æschines had established for us relations more hostile than friendly with all our neighbours, the Megarians, the Thebans, the Eubœans.

Such was the condition of our Country,—no man can deny that I truly describe it: observe now that of Philip our antagonist. In the first place, he had the absolute command of all who followed his standard, the greatest of all advantages in war. Then his forces were always actually in arms; his finances were flourishing; furthermore, he did what

he thought proper, without announcing it beforehand in decrees ; he held not his councils in public, nor was he brought to trial by his calumniators, nor had he to defend himself against impeachments for illegal decrees ; he was accountable to no man, but himself, the absolute master, the leader, the lord of all. And I, who was pitted against him—it is but fair to make this inquiry—of what was I master ? Of nothing. In the right of public audience—all that I possessed—you allowed an equal share to Philip's hirelings ; and when they got the better of me (which they often did, on some pretence or other) you passed measures in the interest of your enemies. And yet, under all these disadvantages, I procured for you the alliance of the Eubœans, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Thebans, the Megarians, the Leucadians, the Corcyræans, from whom you obtained, in addition to the forces of the State, 15,000 auxiliary foot and 2,000 horse. And I obtained as large a contribution of money as I was able. If, *Æschines*, you refer to the claims we might have made against the Thebans, or the Byzantians, or the Eubœans, and contend that the contributions of all parties should have been equal ; first, I say you are ignorant that in past times, when the whole fleet which fought on behalf of Greece con-

sisted of 300 ships, this State contributed 200 : she never thought herself defrauded, nor brought to trial her advisers, nor complained of a grievance ; shame on her if she had ! but she gave thanks to the Gods that on the occurrence of a common danger to the Greeks, she was able to contribute twice as much as the rest to the safety of all. But if it were otherwise, scant is the favour you can gain for yourself from this audience by calumniating me : for what is the use of now telling us what ought to have been done ? You were in the City, and at the Assembly : why did you not make your proposition then, if indeed it were feasible in those times, when we were all fain to adopt, not the course which we preferred, but that which circumstances permitted ? Remember there was one ready to bid against us, to receive with open arms those whose alliance we rejected, and to pay them into the bargain.

But if the events which occurred are now made the subject of accusation against me, what, think you, if, while I had been chaffering about terms, the States had left us and gone over to Philip, so that he had become master at the same time of Eubœa, and Thebes, and Byzantium—what would those impious men then have said and done ? Would they not

have said that the States had been betrayed? that, desiring our alliance, they had been driven away? Would they not have further said that he had become master of the Hellespont by means of the Byzantians, that he had got into his hands the corn-trade of Greece, that a border war, peculiarly burdensome, had been brought into Attica by means of the Thebans, and that the sea had been made unnavigable by the pirates who issued from Eubœa? Would they not have said all this and much more? A base thing, Athenians—a base thing is a calumniator, ever a thing full of spite and malice; but this creature is a beast in his very nature, who from his birth never did an honest or a generous deed: an ape of a tragedian, a clown of an CEnomaus, a mountebank of an orator. Of what service has your eloquence ever been to your Country? are you the man now to lecture us upon the past? Your conduct is that of the physician who, when called in to his suffering patients, prescribes for them no remedy, gives them no advice, but when one of them dies is good enough to attend his funeral, and to expound over his grave, how if the poor man had done this or that he would not have died! Moon-calf! is it now you lecture us?

As for the Defeat—if, miserable man, you exult

over that for which you ought to groan—even that will be found in no way chargeable to any measures of mine. Consider the matter thus. Never from any embassy on which I have been sent by you have I returned worsted by the Ambassadors of Philip, neither from Thessaly, nor from Ambracia, nor from the Illyrians, nor from the courts of the Thracian Kings, nor from Byzantium, nor from anywhere else, nor on the recent occasion from Thebes; but the victories which I obtained over his Ambassadors in debate have been reversed by his arms. Do you charge me with this as a crime? and are you not ashamed to require the very man whom you ridicule for effeminacy, to be more than a match single-handed for the power of Philip? and this by words alone: for what else had I at my command? not the life of a single man, not the fortune of war, not the conduct of the campaign, for which you are absurd enough to call me to account!

Nevertheless, make the fullest inquiry into all for which a statesman can be answerable; I shrink not from it. And what is the duty of a statesman? to watch the inception of events, to descry their tendency, and to forewarn his countrymen. This I have done. To reduce to a minimum the elements of political miscarriage which, more or less, exist of

necessity in every State, such as inertness, fear, ignorance, contentiousness, in whatever quarter found, and to bring the public mind to a state of concord, amity, and zeal for the public service. All this I have done also : nor can any human being point out anything which I have left undone. If it were asked, by what means has Philip achieved the greater part of his successes ? would not all men answer with one accord, by his army, and by his bribery and corruption of men charged with public affairs ? For my part, I have had no army at my disposal or under my command, with military operations therefore I have no concern, but in as far as I have resisted his bribes I have conquered Philip ; for as the corrupter conquers the man he has corrupted, so the man who refuses to be bought or corrupted conquers the corrupter. Thus, as far as rests with me, the State has been unconquered.

Such are the grounds (and many more of the same nature might be adduced) furnished by my own conduct, upon which Ctesiphon was justified in stating what he has stated concerning me ; I am now going to refer to others furnished by you all.

Immediately after the battle, the people, who had known and observed all that I had done, in the midst of their consternation and dismay (when it

would have been no marvel if the multitude had acted somewhat harshly towards me) adopted my proposals for the public safety. Subsequently, all the measures of defence which were taken, the distribution of the guards, the entrenchments, the funds for the repair of the walls, were directed by my decrees ; and further, on the appointment of a commissary of grain, the people elected me in preference to all other candidates. Afterwards, when those who were bent on my ruin formed a conspiracy, and brought to bear upon me indictments, audits, impeachments, and all the machinery of oppression, not at first in their own names, but in names best suited to mask their operations (for you well know and remember how at the beginning of this period I was brought to trial almost daily ; and how neither the mad folly of Sosicles, nor the slander of Philocrates, nor the fury of Diondas and Melantus—how nothing, in short, was left untried by them against me), from all these dangers I owed my deliverance (next to the Gods) to yourselves and the rest of the Athenian people. And you were in the right ; your decisions were just, and in accordance with the oath of upright and enlightened Jurors. When you acquitted me on impeachments of my public conduct, and gave not even the fifth part of your votes to my prosecu-

tors, you then voted that conduct to have been in accordance with the best interests of the State. On each occasion when I was acquitted of proposing illegal decrees, it was established that my decrees and my speeches were in accordance with the laws. When you passed my accounts, you declared the whole of my administration to have been pure and incorrupt.

This being so, what were the just and appropriate terms in which Ctesiphon should have described my conduct? Were they not the terms he found applied to it by the people, the terms applied to it by the sworn Jurors, the terms applied to it by the truth patent to all the world? Nay, but he says Cephalus had the glory of never being called upon to defend himself from an indictment! Aye, and the good luck, too! But on what principle of justice should a man who has been often acquitted, and never convicted of a wrongful action, be more open to reproach? As against Æschines, however, Athenians, I am able to make the same boast as Cephalus; for he has never preferred or prosecuted an indictment against me, so that by your admission, Æschines, I am no worse citizen than Cephalus.

If folly and malignity are apparent in many parts

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of his speech, they are not the least so in his remarks upon Fortune. For my part, I certainly hold that man devoid of sense who reproaches another man with his fortune. If the most seemingly fortunate and prosperous of men cannot on any one day reckon on the continuance of Fortune's favours till the evening, how can it be fair to make such a subject matter of taunt and reproach to one's neighbour? As, however, *Æschines* has spoken on this, as on many other subjects, with intolerable insolence, I pray you, Athenians, to hear and judge whether my sentiments on the subject of Fortune are not juster than his, and do not more become a man.

I hold the Fortune of this State to be good, and I look upon it as being so foretold by the oracle of Dodonæan Zeus himself: but at this present juncture I deem the Fortune of all mankind to be evil and disastrous; for what Greek, what barbarian in these days has not suffered many calamities? To have chosen the nobler part, and to be in a better condition than those who expected to secure their own prosperity by abandoning us, I attribute to the good Fortune of this Country: to have experienced reverses, and to have failed to accomplish all that we desired, is, I conceive, but to take our share in the lot of all the rest of mankind. As for the Fortune

of myself and any other private individual, that is a personal matter, and must in fairness be judged of as such. Such are my sentiments on the subject of Fortune. I believe them to be fair and just, and I think that they will so appear to you. *Æschines*, however, maintains my individual Fortune to have been more potent than that of the State—the little and the mean than the great and the good. How is this possible?

But if, *Æschines*, nothing will serve you but to scrutinise my Fortune, do you look to your own, and if you find mine superior to yours, upbraid me with it no longer. Observe both from their commencement. And here I pray and entreat that I may not be deemed wanting in proper feeling. I regard that man as devoid of understanding who is capable of taunting another with his poverty, or of valuing himself on having been bred in affluence. It is only the malice of this cruel slanderer that forces me into a discussion of the kind, which I shall conduct with as much moderation as the subject admits.

I had the advantage, *Æschines*, when a boy, of attending the proper schools, and possessing enough to protect me from the temptations of want; when I had emerged from childhood I acted suitably to my

condition, supported a choir, furnished ships, paid rates, neglecting no opportunity of honourable distinction in private and public life, and deserving well of my friends and of my Country; when I determined on devoting myself to public affairs I followed that path of statesmanship which has led to my being often crowned both by my own Country and by other States of Greece; and even you, my enemies, have not ventured to assert that the course which I proposed to myself was not an honourable one. Such has been my Fortune through life, and though I might say more upon this subject, I forbear, under the apprehension that I might give offence by the appearance of arrogance.

But now, man of pride and scorn, who art not as other men, consider what kind of a Fortune yours has been in comparison with mine. It was yours to be brought up as a child in abject poverty, an assistant in your father's school, grinding the ink, sponging the benches, and sweeping out the waiting room, the work of a slave rather than of a freeman's son. When grown up you read aloud the mystic books, and otherwise assisted your mother in the process of initiation to the mysteries; at night dressing the initiated in fawn-skins, pouring wine upon them, purifying and scouring them with clay and bran; raising

them after the purification, and bidding them pronounce, 'I fled the evil, I found the good.' Your especial glory was to howl as man never howled before; and I believe you—for it is difficult to suppose that a man who speaks with such power of lungs would fail to distinguish himself as a howler. In the daytime you led through the highways your gallant Bacchanals with their fennel and poplar crowns, grasping in your hands, and flourishing over your head the puff-cheeked snakes—yelling, 'Evø Sabæ,' and capering to the time of 'Hyes Attes, Attes Hyes,' hailed by the beldames as leader and commander-in-chief, chest-bearer, fan-bearer, and the like, and receiving by way of pay, tarts, pastry, and cakes. Who would not admire and envy the Fortune of a man attaining such a proud position?

When you came to be inscribed on the roll of citizens—by what means I do not stay to inquire,—when you came to be enrolled, you immediately chose that most honourable of occupations, the copying and clerk's work of the petty magistrates. On your removal, after a time, from this employment, in which you had done all that you now charge against others, your subsequent life was certainly in no respect unworthy of your previous career, for

you hired yourself to Simylus and Socrates, a company of actors called 'The Groaners,' and played the third parts. One of your duties was to gather up the figs, grapes, and olives with which the company were pelted by the audience—like a fruiterer collecting his stock—and more was the profit you derived from this occupation, than from your performances which you carried on at the risk of your lives:¹ for there raged a war without truce or quarter between the company and the audience, and so many wounds did you therein sustain that it is but natural you should taunt with cowardice those inexperienced in similar perils. But without further reference to what may be possibly imputed to your poverty, I pass to charges which affect your character. Such was the course of statesmanship you adopted (when at length you made up your mind to be a statesman) that when your Country was prosperous you led the life of a hare, trembling, crouching, and ever dreading the scourge which you were conscious of meriting; but on the occurrence of misfortunes to the rest of your countrymen, then were you to be seen by all the world triumphant. The man who is inspirited by the death of 1,000 citizens, what ought

¹ I have here adopted the text of the MS. Σ.

he to suffer from the living? I omit a good deal more that I might say about him; for I have to consider, not how much may be said on the subject of his infamy, but what may be said without the loss of my own self-respect.

Contrast then, *Æschines*, calmly and dispassionately, the principal incidents of our respective lives, and put it to the audience, whose fortune would each of them take for choice? You were a school-master, I a scholar; you performed initiations, I was initiated; you danced, I paid the dancers; you sat as clerk, I spoke in the Assemblies; you acted third parts, I was a spectator; you broke down, I hissed. All your public conduct has been in the interest of our enemies, mine of my Country. Omitting other subjects of comparison, let us come to this very day: my merits are being considered with a view to my receiving a Crown, and it is admitted by general consent that I have done no wrong. You have come to be regarded as a calumniator; nay, more, you run a serious risk of failing to obtain one-fifth of the votes, and being incapacitated from calumniating again. Such is the brilliant fortune, observe you, which has attended your life, and which inspires you with such contempt of mine.

Come, now, let me read to you all the public

testimonials relating to the offices which I have filled ; and by way of counterblast do you recite to us the quotations which you murdered :—

‘I come from darkness and the gates of Hell,’

and

‘Unwillingly I bring the news of ill.’

Ill betide you, say I—may you be confounded for a vile citizen, and a bad actor, by Gods above and men below ! Read the testimonies.

(TESTIMONIES.)

Such has been my character as a public man. As concerns my private life, if you have not all known me to be ready of access, liberal and charitable to those in distress, I am silent and have no more to say. I have no witnesses to call on these subjects ; nor to prove that I have ransomed captives in war, that I have helped to portion the daughters of citizens, or done anything of the kind. I regard the matter thus : in my opinion, the recipient of an obligation ought to remember it for all time, the bestower straightway to forget it, if the former would act with honour, the latter without meanness, and the mention and reminder of favours conferred is next akin to a reproach. I shall do nothing of the kind, I will not be provoked to it ; whatever be

the estimation in which I am held, with that I am content.

Passing, however, from private matters, I desire to say yet a few words upon public. If, Æschines, you are able to point out one man beneath the sun, whether Greek or barbarian, who has come off unscathed by the power of Philip in his time, or of Alexander now, be it so—I will allow that my fortune, or ill-fortune, whichever you may be pleased to call it, has been the cause of all that has befallen. But if many who never beheld me nor heard my voice have suffered numerous and terrible calamities—I speak not only of individuals, but of whole cities, whole nations—how much more in accordance is it with justice and with truth to ascribe those calamities to what seems the common fortune of all mankind—to an untoward and resistless tide of human affairs.

Disregarding all these considerations, you lay the blame on me who directed our affairs before the people's eyes, and this, although you know full well that a large share, if not the whole of your vituperations falls upon the people, and in particular on yourself. If I had possessed the absolute control of our counsels, it would have been competent for you, the other Orators, to censure me ; but if you were always

present in all the Assemblies, if the benefit of the Commonwealth was the subject of public discussion, and if my measures met with general approval, and in particular with your own (for it was out of no regard to me that you allowed me to acquire the influence, the honour, and the credit which then appertained to my policy, but plainly because you were vanquished by the truth, and had nothing better to propose), is it not flagrantly unjust to censure measures, than which at the time you had no better to suggest?

According to my understanding, the following are principles defined and established by the consent of all mankind. Does a man offend wilfully? He is the object of indignation and punishment. Has he erred unintentionally? He is not to be punished but pardoned. Has a man without crime or misconduct devoted himself to objects apparently beneficial to the public, but in common with his fellow-countrymen failed in his aspirations? He deserves sympathy, not censure or reproach. These principles are not only to be found in Codes, they are laid down by Nature herself in her unwritten laws, and in the constitution of man. So that in laying to my charge as crimes, what he himself has described as misfortunes, Æschines has surpassed in malignity and cruelty all mankind.

But furthermore, on the assumption that all which fell from him had been spoken with perfect simplicity and candour, he has requested you to watch me, and to be on your guard against being led away by that witchcraft of eloquence, that subtle casuistry, and similar accomplishments which he has ascribed to me; as if because the first speaker chooses to describe his adversary in terms applicable to himself, the audience, forsooth, are to take his assertion for the fact, without inquiring into the character of the man who makes it! I am sure that you all know him, and how much more applicable such terms are to him than to me. I am well aware that my power of speech—but let that pass—for my part, I have observed that the power of speakers is mainly dependent on their audience; the success of the man, be he who he may, who addresses you is proportionate to the favour with which you receive and listen to him. If, however, I have any skill of the kind, you will all find it to have been employed publicly on your behalf—never against you, never for my private ends; you will find his, on the other hand, exerted not only on behalf of your enemies, but against whoever may have chanced to thwart or offend him. Not honestly has he used his gift, nor in his Country's cause. Never will the good and

true citizen endeavour to make the Jurors assembled to administer public justice the instruments of his personal hatred and malignity ; with no such feelings will he come before you ; his chief effort will be to banish such feelings from his heart, but if they be a necessity of his nature, to moderate and restrain them.

What are the occasions which call for energetic action on the part of the Statesman and the Orator ? When some vital interest of the State is endangered, when a contest has to be waged with the enemies of the people—such are the occasions when the good and the brave citizen is called for. But for a man who has never called me to account for any public wrong done to the State, or, to go further, for any private wrong done to himself, now to concoct an impeachment, and expend such a multitude of words for the purpose of depriving me of the Crown and the praise which I have earned, proves private malice, grudge and spite, and negatives any honest motive. Further, the attempt to evade a direct issue with me, and to turn upon Ctesiphon, comprises every conceivable baseness.

This profusion of words would lead one to suppose, Æschines, that you had instituted this trial for a display of rhetoric and elocution, rather than for

the prosecution of a crime. But you have to learn, *Æschines*, that the glory of an Orator consists not in his language, or in the tone of his voice, but in his sympathies being in unison with those of his fellow-citizens, in his enmities and his friendships being the enmities and friendships of his Country. If such are a man's heartfelt sentiments, he cannot fail to speak loyally; but the man who pays his court to those from whom his Country has danger to apprehend, does not ride at the same anchor with the masses, and does not therefore look to the same quarter for his safety. This, mark you, I do: my interest has been one with my Country, nor have I ever looked for any special or private advantage. But have not you? How stands it? you, who immediately after the battle went as an Ambassador to Philip at that time the author of all your Country's misfortunes, when, as all know, you had invariably declined the same office in former times?

Who is it that deceives his Country? Is it not he who speaks not what he thinks? On whom, if not on him, is the Herald's execration deservedly pronounced in your assemblies? What graver offence is it possible to charge against an Orator than that his words are at variance with his thoughts? As such an offender you stand convicted, and yet dare you to lift your voice and

look these your Jurors in the face? Do you think that they do not know you? Do you suppose them sunk in slumber and oblivion so profound as not to remember your speeches in the Assembly, while the war was going on, in which you swore with many oaths and imprecations that you had no connection with Philip, and that I had falsely imputed it to you out of private malice; but on tidings of the battle arriving, how you straightway forgot all you had said, and owned and avowed relations with him of friendship and hospitality, substituting those expressions for hiring and service? for by what semblance of right or title could *Æschines*, the son of *Glaucothea* the timbrel-player, pretend to be the friend, or the guest, or the acquaintance of Philip? I know of none such; but you were hired by him for the ruin of your Country. And yet, plainly as was your treason exposed, self-convicted as you were by your conduct, you revile and reproach me with events for which of all men I am the least chargeable.

By my counsel, *Æschines*, the Country has been led to project, and has brought to a successful issue, many great and glorious achievements of which she is not oblivious. The proof lies in this, that immediately after the event, when the people had to elect the speaker of the funeral oration over the

slain, on your being proposed they did not elect you, fine as your voice may be ; nor Demades, who had just concluded the peace, nor Hegemon, nor any other of your party—but they elected me. And upon you and Pythocles coming forward (ye Gods! with what shameless malignity!) to make the charges which you now repeat, and to overwhelm me with vituperation, the more the people were determined to elect me. The reason of this is not unknown to you, nevertheless you shall hear it from me. The people knew as well my honesty and zeal in the public service, as they did your disloyalty ; for that which you denied upon your oaths in the prosperity of the State, you avowed in her adversity. Long suspicion gave place to proof. They regarded as open enemies the men who were emboldened to avow their real sentiments by the calamities of their Country. Therefore it was they thought that the man to pronounce the oration over the dead, and to extol their valour, should not be the comrade and the boon companion of their foes, nor were they disposed to honour with that office here him who in another place had exulted and sung pæans over the sufferings of the Greeks in concert with the perpetrators of their slaughter. They looked not for an Orator who would deplore the

✓ fate of the dead with well-acted voice; but for one who would weep for them in his very soul. Such was the grief they felt themselves, and knew to be felt by me, but not by any of you. For this reason they chose me in preference to you; nor was this choice of the people disapproved by the fathers and brothers of the slain appointed by the people to superintend the funeral; for, called upon, according to custom, to hold the funeral banquet at the house of the nearest relative of the dead, they held it at mine; and rightly; for if each of them was more nearly allied to some of the dead by ties of kindred, none was nearer to them all by ties of Country. He who had the greatest concern in their safety and success had the largest share in the common grief for their disastrous fate. Read the epitaph which the State determined to engrave upon their tomb. By this very epitaph, Æschines, you will find your folly, and slander, and wickedness exposed.

Gallant souls, they fought for freedom, and their common Fatherland,
Slavery's hated yoke resisting, and the Tyrant's stern command.
Breast to foe, with firm resolve, they vainly stemmed the conquering
tide,

Prizing honour more than life, they bravely fought, and nobly died.
Sleeping well, their labours o'er, they rest beneath their native sod,
Mortal man must yield to Fate, to conquer Fate belongs to God.

You hear, Æschines, in this very epitaph, that 'to conquer Fate belongs to God.' It ascribes not

to the statesman the power to ensure the success of our arms, but to the Gods! Why then, wretch, do you vituperate me for what has befallen? Heaven grant that your vituperation recoil upon the head of you and yours! What surprised me most, Athenians, among the multitude of his accusations and falsehoods, was that when referring to the calamities which befell the State at that period, he evinced none of the feelings of a good and loyal citizen: he shed not a tear: he betrayed no emotion; but shouting, vociferating, and straining his throat, he fancied himself making good his charges against me, when in reality he was furnishing proof against himself that he is not affected like the rest of us by the public disasters. Surely a man who professes regard for the laws and the public interest, as he even now does, should possess, if no other quality, that of being affected with grief or joy by the same causes as his fellow-countrymen, and of not being enlisted by his public conduct in the ranks of our enemies. You have shown your true colours by casting all the blame upon me, and laying to my charge all the disasters of the Commonwealth, seeing, Athenians, that your policy of affording succour to the rest of Greece had not its origin in my administration or my counsels. Why, if you should concede to me

that all the resistance which you have made to the subjugation of Greece was due to me, you would accord to me a higher honour than you have ever before bestowed upon a public man. I should not venture on such an assumption, it would be injurious to you, and I know well that you would not subscribe to it; nor would Æschines, if he had any sense of justice, seek, for the gratification of his enmity to me, to disparage and defame the greatest of your glories.

But why dwell on this, when so many charges more shocking have been preferred? The man who accuses me of Philippizing, what, in the name of Heaven and Earth, is there that he will not say? Why, by Heracles and all the Gods, if we are to inquire honestly, disregarding the suggestions of falsehood and malice, on whose head the blame of what has befallen ought to be fairly and justly laid by all mankind, we shall find them to be the men in each of the States who resemble him, not me; who, when Philip's power was weak and in its infancy, notwithstanding our frequent warnings and remonstrances and salutary advice, persisted in sacrificing the public interests to their greed of gain, deceiving and corrupting their respective countrymen until they had reduced them to slavery. Daochus, Cineas, Thrasy-

dæus, corrupting the Thessalians; Cercidas, Hieronymus, Eucampidas, the Arcadians; Myrtis, Teledamus, Mnaseas, the Argives; Euxitheus, Cleotimus, Aristæchmus, the Eleans; the accursed sons of Philiadès, Neon and Thrasylochus, the Messenians; Aristratus, Epichares, the Sicyonians; Dinarchus, Demaratus, the Corinthians; Ptæodorus, Helixus, Perilaus, the Megarians; Timolaus, Theogiton, Anemætas, the Thebans; Hipparchus, Clitarchus, Sosis-tratus, the Eubœans; the day would not last me to recount the names of the traitors. All these men, Athenians, are working for the same ends in their own Countries, as Æschines and his party among you—miscreants, parasites, scourges of mankind—who have dismembered their respective States, who have pledged over their wine-cups the liberties of Greece, formerly to Philip, and but now to Alexander; men whose ideal of happiness is the basest sensuality, who have exploded the doctrine that to be free and to own no master is the greatest good, that fundamental maxim, that canon of the Greeks of old!

Of all this infamous and notorious conspiracy and wickedness, or rather (not to trifle with the subject), Athenians, of this traitorous betrayal of the liberty of Greece, you stand, thanks to my counsels, acquitted

before the world, I stand acquitted before you. Do you then, Æschines, ask me for what merit I claim public honours? I will tell you. It is because, when all the statesmen in Greece had been corrupted, beginning with yourself, first by Philip and then by Alexander, I was never induced nor tempted by opportunity, nor by fair speeches, nor by the magnitude of proffered bribes, nor by hope, nor by fear, nor by favour, nor by any other consideration, to swerve a hair's breadth from the course which I believed to be right and for the public good; never in weighing my public counsels have I, like you, inclined to the scale in which hung my private advantage, but all that I have done has been done straightforwardly, incorruptly, and with singleness of purpose; and while I have been charged with affairs of greater magnitude than any of my contemporaries, the whole of my administration has been pure, honest, disinterested. These are the grounds on which I claim to be honoured. As for the fortifications and entrenchments, which you have sneered at, I deem myself entitled to thanks and gratitude on that behalf. Wherefore should I not? But I am far, indeed, from placing such services in the same category with my general policy. It is not with stones nor with bricks that I have fortified Athens; it is

not upon such works that I chiefly value myself; but if you would truly appreciate my fortifications you will find them in arms, cities, territories, harbours, ships, and men to avail themselves of these advantages. These are the outworks which I have thrown up before Attica, according to the best of human foresight—by these have I fortified the whole Country, not merely the circuit of the Piræus and the City. Nor was I defeated by the calculations or preparations of Philip; far from it: but the Generals and the forces of our allies were defeated by Fortune. Where are the proofs of this? They are clear and manifest. Consider them. What was the course which a patriotic citizen, one who brought at once foresight, zeal, and good faith to the public service, was bound to adopt? Was it not to cover Attica on the seaboard by Eubœa, on the side of the mainland by Bœotia, and on that of the Peloponnesus by the adjoining districts? Was it not to provide for the convoy of the corn-trade along a friendly coast until it reached the Piræus? Was it not to retain the places we possessed by sending them succour, and proposing and carrying the necessary measures for this purpose—for example—Proconnesus, the Chersonesus, Tenedos? and to secure the friendship and alliance of others, such as Byzantium and Abydos,

and Eubœa? Was it not to cut off as much as possible the resources of the enemy, and to furnish those of which the State stood in need? All this was done by my decrees and by my policy; and if that policy, Athenians, is to be judged without prejudice, it will be found that all my measures were justly conceived and faithfully executed, that the fit occasion for each was neither unforeseen, nor neglected, nor abandoned by me, and that nothing was left undone which the sagacity of one man could suggest, or his power could effect. And if the might of some Divinity or of Fortune, or the inefficiency of our Generals, or the wickedness of you who have betrayed your several States, or all these causes combined have shaken the State until it totters to its fall, wherein is Demosthenes to blame?

Why, if there had been in each of the other States but one man such as I have been in my sphere among you, or, to go further, if Thessaly had had but one man, if Arcadia had had but one man of my stamp, not a Greek, either within or without Thermopylæ, would have suffered the calamities which have befallen him; but all would have dwelt in their native lands, free and independent, in all safety and prosperity, and for these manifold blessings secured to them through me would have testified their gra-

titude to yourselves and to the rest of the Athenian people.

That you may see how much I understate my services, desiring, as I do, to escape the imputation of arrogance, take this document and read from it the number of the auxiliaries obtained by my decrees.

(NUMBER OF THE AUXILIARIES.)

To adopt these measures, Æschines, and such as these, was the conduct of a patriotic citizen. If they had been successful—O Heaven and Earth—we must, beyond all question, have become a first-rate power, as we well deserved to be; if they have failed, we have left to us our honour; no reproach can attach to the State or to its policy, but Fortune must bear the blame who has so ordered our affairs. Never, never, will the patriotic citizen desert his Country's cause, and hiring himself to her foes watch his opportunities of injuring her; never will he malign the statesman who in his utterances and his measures has consistently maintained his Country's honour; nor will he nurse and treasure up resentment for private wrongs; nor, lastly, will he maintain a dishonest and a treacherous silence, as you have often done. There is, beyond question, a

description of silence honest and advantageous to the State, such as that maintained in all good faith by yourselves, the great bulk of the citizens, but this is not the description of silence which he maintains—far from it. He retires when he finds it convenient from public life (and he often finds it convenient): he watches for the time when you are becoming weary of some statesman who has been in the habit of addressing you, or when some reverse of fortune or something untoward has befallen—things incident to human affairs—upon such occasions he bursts forth from silence into speech like a sudden squall, his voice has been attuned, his words and periods prepared, he strings them together and delivers them with breathless volubility, to no useful purpose, with no result of good, but to the detriment of some or other of his fellow citizens and the disgrace of the Country. But if these laboured efforts, *Æschines*, proceeded from true patriotism and genuine zeal for the public service, one would expect them to bear fruits rich, glorious, and profitable to all, in the shape of alliances of States, increase of the public treasure, commercial arrangements, the enactment of beneficial laws, a blow struck at our declared enemies. All such services were required by the Country from statesmen in earlier days, and recent times have

afforded many an occasion for a good man and true to prove his mettle, on none of which have you come forward in the first, or the second, or the third, or the fourth, or the fifth, or the sixth, or in any rank at all,—no part have you taken in any measure for strengthening the Country's resources. What alliance has been ever obtained for the State through your instrumentality? What succour, what acquisition of good-will from others, or credit for ourselves? What embassy? What public service which has added to our national renown? What public affairs, whether domestic, Hellenic, or foreign, have been brought by you to a successful issue? What ships have you furnished? What arms? What dockyards? What fortifications? What cavalry? In what one respect have you been useful? What pecuniary contribution have you ever made upon public grounds for the benefit of either the rich or the poor? None.

But, oh! it may be said, if there is nothing of this, there are good intentions and zeal for the public service. Where?—when? Why, you worst of bad citizens, at a time when every public man who had ever spoken from the Tribune gave his contribution for the State's safety; when at last even Aristonicus gave the sum that he had saved to retrieve his civil

privileges, not even then did you come forward and make the smallest offering ; not that you were poor—how could you be? seeing that you inherited from your father-in-law, Philo, more than five talents, and that you received two talents, a sum subscribed by the chief contributories for your services in attacking my law relating to the furnishing of ships. But I must not allow myself to be drawn on from one point to another into forgetfulness of my argument. I therefore pass from these topics. Suffice it to say, that you were clearly not deterred from contributing by your poverty, but by your anxiety to do nothing opposed to the interests of those for whose benefit all your policy has been designed. But what are the occasions of your brilliant displays, the exhibition of your youthful vigour? When ought is to be spoken against your countrymen ; then is your voice best tuned, then is your memory most accurate, then you act your part to perfection, a very tragic Theocrines.

Again, you refer to the great men of the olden time : and you do well : at the same time, Athenians, it is scarcely fair that he should avail himself of the respect which you bear to the memory of the dead for the purpose of instituting a comparison between them and myself, who am living among you. What

mortal man is ignorant that more or less of detraction attaches to all men living, while even their enemies no longer hate the dead? If such is the nature of man, am I now to be judged and measured by the standard of those who have gone before me? Not so; it is not just or fair, *Æschines*; the comparison should be with yourself, or with any living man belonging to your party whom you may select. And I pray you, Athenians, to consider whether is it fairer and more useful to the State to dwell upon the merits of our ancestors, transcendent as they are and surpassing all description, for the purpose of disparaging and loading with obloquy the services of living statesmen, or to render to all who have honestly exerted themselves in their Country's cause the praise and the gratitude which are their due.

Nevertheless, if I may venture on the assertion, my policy and statesmanship, if properly regarded, will appear of the same description and actuated by the same spirit as that of the illustrious men of ancient times, while yours will be found to resemble that of their calumniators. For it is plain that even in those times there were alway persons who disparaged the living, and praised those who had gone before them—factious was their conduct, and similar to your own. If, then, you assert that I in no respect

resemble the ancients, I ask in reply, do you resemble them, Æschines? or does your brother? or any of the present race of Orators? I affirm that none resemble them. But pray, my worthy friend (to apply to you no other epithet), compare a living statesman with living statesmen, on the same principles of comparison which you apply to all other persons, poets, dancers, athletes. Philammon departed not uncrowned from Olympia because he was not as strong as Glaucus, the Carystian, and other athletes of bygone generations; but he was crowned and proclaimed the conqueror, because he vanquished all who entered the lists against him. So do you compare me with the Orators of the present day, with yourself, or any other you may select. I admit my inferiority to none.

When the State was free to determine on her policy, and when competition for the prize of patriotism was open to all, it was I whose counsel was deemed the best, and everything was ordered according to my decrees, my laws, my diplomacy; not one of you made your appearance unless some opportunity occurred of insulting the people. But on the occurrence of our great calamity, when statesmen were no longer required, but men obedient to command, ready to take service against their Country,

and to flatter and fawn upon its enemies, then did you, and each of your party come forth in the ostentation of your wealth and the glitter of your equipages, while I was powerless, I confess it, but a better friend of my Country than you.

Every well-affected citizen, Athenians (in such terms I am able to speak of myself least invidiously), is bound to possess two qualities. When in authority the fixed resolve to maintain the honour and pre-eminence of his Country ; under all circumstances and at all times, loyalty. This Nature can command—to another power belong strength and success. By this spirit you find me to have been uniformly actuated. Observe—never, when I was demanded for extradition, nor when Amphictyonic suits were prosecuted against me, nor when threats, nor when promises were brought to bear upon me, nor when these miscreants were let loose like wild beasts upon me—never was I induced to abandon one jot or tittle of my loyalty to you. From first to last I took the straight and true path of statesmanship—that of complete devotion to the maintenance and furtherance of the honour, the power, and the glory of my Country. Never was I beheld strutting about the Forum, radiant with joy and exultation at foreign success, gesticulating congratulations to those who

might be expected to report them elsewhere. Nor have I heard the tidings of our good fortune with dismay and lamentations, and prostration to the earth, like these impious men, who inveigh against their Country without perceiving that their invective is directed against themselves, whose eyes are cast abroad, who felicitate themselves on foreign success purchased by the calamities of Greece, and avow their anxiety to secure its permanence.

Never, O ye Heavenly Powers, never may such designs obtain favour at your hands ! Rather, if it be possible, inspire even these men with better thoughts, and turn their hearts ; but if their moral plague be incurable, cut them off from among us, and drive them forth to destruction, sure and swift, over land and over sea : while to us who are spared ye vouchsafe the speediest deliverance from our impending alarms, and abiding security !

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